

MOTHERS' PERCEPTION OF THE
PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS OF
ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN URBAN
INDIAN FAMILIES

By
KAMALA BOKIL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Family Structure In India

The concept of a family in India, like many other oriental countries, is wider than in the West. Agricultural economies have usually resulted in the family, rather than one member of the family, becoming a productive unit. In India, even the family as it is defined today in the West, was found less than adequate as an economic unit, and there developed a joint family system described by L. F. Williams as follows: "Its essence is the common ownership of means of production and the common enjoyment of the fruits of labour. Both inherited and personally acquired belongings are regarded as common property; and the supreme authority is the family council, of which the head of the family, generally the eldest male, is the executive officer but not the dictator. The family may consist of dozens of persons, grandparents, uncles, sons, grandsons, with their wives and children; and the ties of loyalty to which it gives rise are intense." (Quoted in Parkin, 1945, P 11-12)

Under these conditions children may not be deeply attached

to their parents, but may be closer to grandparents or any other member of the family. They relate almost equally well to all the women of the household.

The nature of the Indian family is gradually changing, however. The present century has ushered in radical changes in the pattern of life. As Majumdar (1961, P 178-180) has pointed out, industrialization has made the joint family in the traditional sense unnecessary. Furthermore, contacts with Western education and culture have changed values and ideas, resulting in some undermining of emotional bonds which cemented the traditional joint family together, especially in bigger cities.

Rapid industrialization is shifting rural population to the cities and urban population is becoming more mobile, resulting in the breakup of the joint family. The influence of grandparents is waning and children are becoming more dependent upon their parents. However, the rapid cultural changes are also creating a wide gap between the parents and their adolescent children, making it difficult for them to understand each other. The distance between the mother and the daughter appears to be increasing even more markedly due to the girl's greater contact with the world, her education and the consequent widening of her horizon.

Statement of the Problem

The present study attempted to understand the nature of mother-daughter relationships in the changing present-day culture. What appear to be signs of conflict and disharmonious relationship between parents and adolescents may be a result of minor overt issues and may not signify hostile feelings. Differences in values and standards of behavior between the young and the old are inevitable. Ausubel (1954) refers to disharmony arising out of these differences as "generation conflict." It is of transitory nature. However, in some cases, trivial causes of conflict may have emotional significance, serving as outlets for deeper hostile feelings. The aim of this study was to throw light on this and other related dimensions of mother-daughter relationships as one aspect of the larger parent-child relationships.

In particular, this study attempted to find out if the mother perceives her relationship and/or role with her adolescent daughter as (1) harmonious or conflictual, (2) coercive or permissive, (3) democratic or authoritarian, and (4) warm or cool. The study was also expected to throw light on various factors and problems of bringing up adolescent girls, methods of control used by the mothers and their stated aims and objectives in bringing up daughters.

Since children's relationships with their parents are influenced by the general emotional climate of the family, an attempt was made to elicit the mothers' views on this aspect of the family also.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to mothers of school-going girls, both of whose parents were living. The girls were about average or above average in intelligence and not obviously emotionally disturbed. In India, children with psychological handicaps tend to drop out of school before they reach the high school stage. As already indicated in the title, this was a study of mothers' relationships with their adolescent daughters as viewed by mothers. No attempt was made to check this with fathers' or daughters' point of view. Also, the sample was confined to the urban Hindu population of Banaras.

Analysis of the data showed that the sample was predominantly from middle class and Brahmin families.

Definition of Terms

Harmonious-Conflictual

Harmonious parent-child relationships consist of agreement between them on most of the attitudes, values and ways of behavior. Any disagreement is resolved by mutual discussion and, if necessary, by one party voluntarily conceding to the

other's point of view at least so far as the resulting behavior is concerned. Where there is a lack of such agreement and understanding the relationship is considered conflictual.

Coercive-Permissive

If parents suggest and direct the activities of children, bringing pressure upon them to follow their wishes, the relationship is considered coercive, while if there is relative freedom of action and little or mild restrictiveness, the relationship is considered permissive.

Democratic-Authoritarian

Democratic control consists of an attempt on the part of the parents to understand the children's point of view, to encourage them to voice their opinion and to give them freedom to follow their ideas after discussion and explanation. By contrast, the authoritarian control consists of rigid rules and regulations in all spheres of children's lives and punishment for their infringement. Parental authority is considered superior to the child's wishes at all times and in all areas.

Warm-Cool

Warm relationship is indicated by expression of affection on the part of the parent resulting in reciprocal behavior on the part of children. Love is given without reservation. A cool relationship consists of parents being reserved, un-

demonstrative and not giving children a feeling of being loved.

Emotional Climate of the Family

The emotional climate of the family is considered positive when different members are cordial to one another, take each others' welfare and interests into consideration, and when there is respect for individuality. A positive emotional climate also means that there are no major points of disagreement and no undue attention to specific members. When these conditions are absent the atmosphere is considered negative.

Significance of the Study

Adolescence is a period of marked physical and psychological changes. Inter-personal relationships also alter. The adolescent struggles for emancipation from dependence on parents. Gordon (1962, P 268) has pointed out that the adolescent shifts 'his view of himself and his parents.' Previously he perceived them as powerful people. Now he sees them as less powerful. He equates 'moving away from parents with loving the parent less. Unfortunately, many parents see it this way too!' (Gordon, 1962, P 268). Parents are disturbed by the change for which they are not prepared and probably do not understand.

Teachers are expected to help the adolescent adjust to the world around him. They can be objective. Their emotional involvements with the adolescent are less deep than those of

parents and so they can understand better the adolescent's struggle to become an adult. But teachers are likely to play the traditional role of the parent toward their pupils. Children are also likely to transfer to teachers many of the attitudes they have developed toward their parents. Bandura and Walters (1959, P 86) found that adolescents transferred to their teachers some of their reactions to their parents and they think that this is to be expected.

Both parents and teachers are concerned with the education of adolescents. A study of their relationships with adolescents is expected to help the parents get an insight into the behavior of their adolescent children. It is expected to help the teachers to know better the home life of their students. Teachers may also be helped to predict the attitudes of adolescents toward them. This may make the guidance work in schools more effective and there may be better coordination of work of the home and the school.

The results obtained at Banaras may be somewhat different from those which would be obtained if the study were conducted in some other city in India or elsewhere. But the dimensions considered are basic to all parent-child relationships and so the generalizations arrived at may help one to compare and understand parent-child relationships in different cultures.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The significance of the mother's influence on the child's personality has always been recognized and found expression in such sayings as "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." But it was left to Freud to reveal the deeper subtleties of the relationship. His concept of childhood sexuality and the importance he attached to it in the development of human personality led to immediate revolt against his theories. It was argued that these theories were based on the narrations of his mentally disturbed patients and hence were not applicable to normal persons. But as a greater number of people entered the field of psychoanalysis, the basic principles propounded by him were more widely accepted and there was a desire to conduct objective studies to test his hypotheses and to understand the nature of parent-child interactions with their resultant patterns of child behavior and personality.

Empirical studies of the problem are a development of the twentieth century. Many studies in this field, especially in America, have been conducted on a very elaborate scale, with a high degree of sophistication as to research design, methods of

collecting data and interpretation of results. They also cover all the stages of a child's growth and almost all strata of American society.

These studies can be roughly divided into two groups on the basis of the ages to which they refer. First are the studies of parent-child relationships of early childhood years, beginning with birth or even before birth and extending to about six to twelve years of age. The second group of studies are of adolescents' relationships with their parents. The middle age group is included in some studies of either ages. There is very little research work devoted exclusively to the study of parent-child relationships of the pre-adolescent stage. Parent-child relationships also form a part of some longitudinal studies and they help one to understand developmental changes in parent-child interactions.

The studies vary in purpose. A few studies are of an exploratory nature trying to determine how mothers rear their children, what leads a mother to adopt one method of training rather than another and what effect early childhood training has on adult personality. Other studies have a more specific purpose. Many of them attempt to discover the relationships of parents with their exceptional children, using the word "exceptional" in its broadest sense. Cross-cultural studies of child rearing practices help one

to understand cultural differences in socialization processes and their effects on personality development.

Though the present study is mainly concerned with mothers' perception of their relationships with their adolescent daughters, some studies referring to earlier ages are examined as those have influenced most of the research in the field. They led to the development of theoretical models of parent-child relationships and factor analysis of dimensions of these relationships formed a basis for later studies.

Studies of Parent-Child Relationships of Young Children

The Feis Research Institute is engaged in long term longitudinal studies of children. The data collected by the Institute from home visits of about one hundred and fifty children were analyzed by Baldwin, Kaihorn and Breese (1945). They found three main dimensions of parent behavior: (1) democracy, (2) indulgence, and (3) acceptance. Various combinations of these identified parents who could be divided into seven groups on the basis of their behavior towards children: (1) acceptant-democratic, (2) acceptant-democratic-indulgent, (3) indulgent, (4) casual-indulgent, (5) casual-autocratic, (6) nonchalant-rejectant, and (7) active-rejectant. A democratic environment was found to be most favorable to the development of intelligence. Next came a casual-indulgent environment. Highly restrictive and highly

indulgent behavior was found to be least favorable to the development of intelligence.

The Institute also developed Parent Behavior Rating Scales (Champney, 1941). These are found useful by social workers, clinical psychologists, child psychiatrists, and research workers in the field. The thirty scales cover all known areas of parent-child interaction having universal application and refer to behavior which can be immediately perceived. The terms have been carefully defined, and in the standard rating form, descriptions are arranged along a rating line with points for marking. The thirty variables were reduced to three fundamental dimensions or factors: (1) warmth-coolness-hostility, (2) intellectual objectivity-emotionality, and (3) restrictive and coercive freedom, but capable of asserting authority-lax and intellectual. For practical use of social workers and clinical psychologists the variables were clustered under seven headings: (1) warmth, (2) adjustment, (3) indulgence, (4) objectivity and detachment, (5) restrictiveness, (6) clarity, and (7) parental control.

Another extensively used instrument is the Parent Attitude Research Instrument Form IV, developed by Schaefer and Bell (1958). It supplements interviews and observations in the study of parent-child relationships. The test was found to distinguish between mothers of normal children and mothers of children with mental ab-

normalities. It consists of thirty-two scales with one hundred and fifteen items to be rated on four points and takes about twenty minutes for completion.

The data from the Berkeley Growth Study were analyzed by Schaefer and Bayley (1963) from a different point of view than that of Baldwin and others in analyzing the data collected at the Fels Research Institute. Baldwin and others studied the patterns of parent behavior, while Schaefer and Bayley were concerned with the developmental aspect of the relationships between mothers and children. Both studies throw light on the relationship of maternal behavior to the social and emotional development of the child. Twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls, whose case records were more or less complete, were the subjects of the Schaefer and Bayley study. The ratings on variables of maternal behavior were correlated with variables of child behavior separately for the following age groups: ten months to thirty-six months, twenty-seven months to ninety-six months, nine to twelve years, and twelve to eighteen years. The data were obtained by observation of maternal behavior in infancy, interviews with mothers of pre-adolescent and adolescent children, and observation and rating of the child behavior from infancy through adolescence. It was collected over a period of approximately eighteen years.

It was found that both maternal and child behavior were consistent over the years and it was possible to predict subsequent behavior of the child from early observation of maternal behavior. Consistency was found to be high for variables of love-hostility dimension and low for autonomy-control dimension. Low socio-economic status, financial stress and poor physical health of the mother were found to correlate with maternal hostility. Patterns of inter-relationships of variables varied with age and sex of the child.

Sears and others (1957) conducted extensive interviews of mothers with a view to finding out what kinds of child rearing practices were most conducive to the development of children's identification with their parents. The data collected through standardized interviews of three hundred and seventy-nine mothers of five year old children were analyzed, linking parent personality as an independent variable with dependent child variables. Mother's practices with reference to feeding, toilet training, dependency, sex, aggression, restrictions and demands, techniques of training, and development of conscience were the areas explored. Interviews were rated on one hundred and eighty-eight scales. Forty-four of these, considered significant on the basis of theoretical concepts, were factor analyzed and yielded the following main factors:

(1) permissiveness-strictness, (2) general family adjustment,

(3) warmth of mother-child relationship, (4) responsible child training orientation, (5) aggressiveness and punitiveness, (6) perception of husband, and (7) orientation towards child's physical well-being. Another patterned aspect of parent behavior, viz., love oriented versus object oriented discipline, was noticed from a study of Intercorrelations among methods of discipline.

An attempt was made to find out differences in child rearing practices with sex and ordinal position of the child and socio-economic status, education, and age of the mother. There were wide differences among mothers in the extent to which sex of the child influenced her and no uniform pattern was discovered. Ordinal position had some effect on the treatment of children by mothers. Oldest children were weaned later than other children, they were punished oftener and were more commonly disciplined by fathers than mothers. In comparing the child rearing practices of middle class and working class mothers, it was found that middle class mothers were gentler, warmer, more permissive, and less punitive and restrictive than working class mothers. More or less the same trends were noticed when mothers were compared on the basis of their education. Better educated mothers were found to be more permissive and less restrictive in dealing with their children and assigned to them more household tasks to perform. When older and younger mothers were compared, it was found that

younger mothers tended to be somewhat more severe and irritable toward their children.

Since both the independent and the dependent variables were based on mother interviews, the findings are mainly of exploratory nature.

The study, The Changing American Parent by Miller and Swanson (1958), is of a different nature than the studies examined earlier. It was an outgrowth of the study conducted by the University of Michigan in Detroit, designed to find out how children resolve their conflicts. The study of the changing American parent was undertaken to discover how entrepreneurial and bureaucratic parents rear their children. Also the differences in child rearing practices of middle class and lower class in the two groups were investigated. Entrepreneurial parents were employed in organizations having the following features: "Small size, a simple division of labour, relatively small capitalization, and provision for mobility and income through risk taking and competition" (Miller and Swanson, 1958, P 58).

Feeding, defecation, weaning, sexual explorations, independence, assuming sex roles and mothers' expectations about their children's adult roles were the areas studied. Questions specifically referred to those aspects of child training that are currently debated. The aim was to find out how and why child rearing practices are changing. A total of five hundred and eighty-two mothers, each with at least

one child under nineteen, were interviewed. The analysis of the data showed that in some respects there was a distinct difference between the methods of bringing up children in the two groups. Entrepreneurial mothers emphasized in their children self-control and active, independent, manipulative approach to the world. Bureaucratic mothers educated their children to adopt a more accommodating and adjustive way of life. There was a slight tendency in the bureaucratic mothers to hold themselves responsible for children's misbehavior. Lower class entrepreneurial mothers were somewhat more permissive than middle class mothers of the same section, but no such difference was found between bureaucratic middle class and lower class mothers. The range of methods used by both the mothers was considerable. Though the authors did not specifically aim at linking child training practices with resultant child personality, the study did throw light on this aspect of developmental psychology.

Cross-Cultural Studies of Parent-Child Relationships

Inter-cultural studies in parent-child relationships have been undertaken by anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists with objectives more or less similar to those indicated in studies described above. The beginning was made with a study of Samoan children by Mead (1953). The report of the study was first published in 1928. The findings were based on observation of the

lives of sixty-eight girls between the ages of nine to twenty in three small villages. It was found that early childhood was a difficult time for a Samoan girl. All the older relatives made demands on her. Children began to form large groups by about the age of seven. These groups were divided on sex lines and broke up before adolescence. Not many demands were made upon the girls after they formed groups, and prolonged disciplinary measures were absent. On the other hand, after joining a group, boys were under its pressure. There was not much conflict between adolescents and their parents and there were few real delinquents.

Another cross-cultural study of socialization of children was done by Whiting and Child (1953). They analyzed child rearing practices of seventy-five primitive societies. The data were obtained from cross-cultural files of the Yale Institute of Human Relations. The practices relating to five systems of behavior, oral, anal, sexual, aggressive, and dependent, in different societies were compared with reference to initial satisfaction of these needs and later severity of training. A system of behavior was defined by Whiting and Child (1953, P 45) as "a set of habits and customs motivated by a common drive and leading to common satisfactions." It was found that the less the initial satisfaction and the greater the severity of training later, the

more the need for the satisfaction of that drive in adult life. When the practices of primitive cultures were compared with those of American white middle class, it was found that on most socialization practices American parents were more severe.

The next step was the observation of societies in the field. A study of child rearing in six cultures: North India, Okinawa, Mexico (Indian), Philippines, the Northeastern United States, and Kenya was conducted by six teams of workers.

Aggression, dependency and internalization of various mechanisms were the main areas of study. Parents' treatment of nine behavior systems studied included succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability and aggression. Triandis and Lambert (1961) published the findings on a portion of the work done and a detailed report of the study was edited by Whiting (1963).

A total of one hundred and thirty-three mothers, with children whose ages ranged from three to ten years, were interviewed and observed. The standard interview schedule had twenty-one classes of questions with four sub-variables for each class. Statistical analysis of the data yielded seven factors: (1) responsibility demands on the child, (2) uses of positive affect by mothers, (3) control of child's peer aggression and obedience, (4) extent of mother's caretaking at the time of the interview, (5) control of mother-directed aggression and obedience, and (6) emotional

stability of the mother. Similarities and differences with the findings of American studies were noted. The factor of warmth in American studies is similar to factor (2) in the inter-cultural study; the restriction factor is similar to factors (3) and (6); and hostile rejection of home making role is similar to factor (7). Two factors, (3) and (6), refer to aggression, while American studies reveal only one factor. American studies do not have scales referring to the extent of caretaking by the mother, although they have variables for time spent with the child. The factors are based more on differences between mothers than differences in culture pattern.

The lives of adolescents were studied only in Kenya. It was found that controlling the behavior of a girl initiated into adulthood became a problem for the parents, especially the father. Parents were afraid lest the girl elope without bringing in a gift of cattle received at the time of her marriage. Uninitiated boys of eight to twelve were also a problem to their parents. They may be over-dependent on mothers, disobedient, aggressive and disrespectful. The initiation was meant to encourage the boy to be self-reliant, to bear hardships, to cooperate with peers, to be brave and to respect parents. Initiated boys' relations with parents became formal.

Inter-culture similarities and differences have been identified by these studies. The findings of parent-child interactions of adolescents in Kenya are significant when contrasted with the findings of

Mead (1953). Mead did not discover any conflict between parents and adolescents in Samoa, while in Kenya and the United States such conflict was evident.

Studies of Parent-Child Relationships of Adolescents

Parent-child relationships of adolescents and parents' views of these relationships are topics of a few studies. Some studies explore the relationships directly through interviews of parents and children or by administering attitude tests. Others do so more indirectly by comparing values, attitudes, and opinions of parents and children and infer the relationships.

Perhaps the earliest study of parents' views of their relationships with their adolescent children was conducted by Stott (1940). He compared farm, small town, and city parents in regard to attitudes toward self-reliance in children and attitudes toward the question of adolescent freedom versus parental control. He also determined the relation between those parental attitudes and certain personality variables in children. Personality tests administered to children included scales on self-reliance, personal adjustment, ethical judgement and attitude towards home. The attitude of parents toward self-reliance in children was measured by Ojemann's scale for parents of elementary school children. Some items of this scale were replaced by items from the scale for parents of high school children. A new scale, consisting of thirty items, was drawn up for measuring parental attitude towards control.

Eighteen hundred adolescents living on the farm, the small town, and the city in the State of Nebraska were administered the test. Twelve hundred families were sent separate test blanks for mothers and fathers. However, the response from parents was poor and less than two hundred parents sent back the forms.

Results indicated close similarity between fathers and mothers. In attitude toward self-reliance, no difference between sub-groups of parents was discovered. City parents had more favorable attitudes toward parental control than farm parents. There was a slight tendency for attitude towards self-reliance in mothers to be associated with development of self-reliance and adequacy of personal adjustment in children. Attitude toward self-reliance in fathers was associated with appreciation of home life in children. Attitude of parents towards freedom was slightly associated with independence in personal matters in children.

Hackett (1951) investigated the issues relating to tensions between adolescents and their parents. He asked both parents and their adolescent children to answer identical questionnaires referring to thirty-two issues. Parental overprotection, parental trust, parental guidance, intrafamilial harmony and affection, discipline, independence of decisions by the child, and heterosexual relationships were the areas explored. The adolescents indicated their own attitudes and the attitudes they thought parents would have toward these issues. The parents of the same children expressed

their own opinion on these issues and also indicated the attitudes they thought their children would have toward the issues. The investigator determined whether or not a conflict existed.

Approximately fifteen thousand students throughout the nation were given the questionnaire. Measurements were made on three aspects of parent-child relationships: felt conflict, actual conflict, and empathy. Some conflict appeared to exist on almost all the issues represented in the questionnaire.

Cass (1952) studied the relationship between parent-child interaction and delinquency. Awareness, identification, projection, parental control, and parental conflict were the variables measured. A check-list questionnaire referring to seven areas of personal preference, one of vocational ambition, one of fears, and one of descriptive adjectives was administered to twenty-one adolescent delinquents, twenty-one matched non-delinquents, and their mothers. Adolescents had to choose three out of twenty items which they believed applied to them. Mothers also had to answer the same questionnaires, one for herself and one for her child. The degree of correspondence between the responses of mothers and their sons and daughters measured the variable. Children were also administered a control questionnaire and an incomplete sentence test. It was found that socially maladjusted children reported higher maternal control and their mothers were less aware of their needs. No significant difference was found between the two groups in identifi-

cation. Projection had no consistent positive or negative influence.

Adolescent Aggression, a study by Bandura and Walters (1959), is somewhat similar to the previously quoted study by Cass in that the researchers in both cases tried to investigate the likely causes of delinquency in the realm of parent-child relationships. The approach to the study and method of investigation were different, however.

Bandura and Walters compared the parent-child relationships of a group of twenty-six delinquents with a control group of twenty-six non-delinquents having similar socio-economic backgrounds. But unlike previous studies, instead of asking why adverse circumstances led to delinquent behavior in some boys and not in others, the present study attempted to find out why some boys, without any apparent social or constitutional disadvantages, showed antisocial behavior patterns. Simultaneous but separate interviews of both parents and children supplied the main data. The interviews were semi-structured and were rated by two independent raters on a five-point scale. In addition, the boys were given a projective test consisting of ten pictures and eight incomplete stories. The main areas of exploration were similar to those of the Sears and others (1957) study quoted above.

Frustration of dependency motives, rejection by parents, inconsistency in handling aggressive behavior, encouragement of aggression outside the home, relative permissiveness of aggression

toward themselves by mothers and non-permissiveness of aggression toward themselves by fathers, were found to be some of the variables in the bringing up of aggressive boys. Mothers of aggressive boys were less demanding and exercised fewer socialization pressures than mothers of control group. Fathers of aggressive boys were considerably more permissive of adolescents' heterosexual behavior and were more coercive than fathers of non-aggressive boys. Aggressive boys showed less identification with fathers than control boys and also generally lacked guilt feelings when they deviated.

Helper (1958) compared the self-evaluation of fifty-one 8th and 9th grade children with the evaluation of the children by their parents. Forty-two scales were developed on the basis of dimensions of personality as described by Cattell and four scales were selected from Osgood's analysis of connective meaning. Both parents and children rated on a seven point scale. Correlations between children's self-evaluation and parental evaluation of children was low but positive, indicating that children's self-concept is partially a result of parents' attitude toward them.

The studies reviewed so far attempted to discover the nature of parent-child relationships from different points of view. In spite of their diversity there were common elements. In early childhood studies feeding, weaning, toilet training, dependency behavior, discipline, restrictions and demands, moral training, sex

and aggression were the main concerns. The way a mother handled these situations was an indication of the nature of her personality, her attitudes toward child-rearing practices, and the feeling tone of her interactions with her children. The qualities of parent-child relationships and attitudes of parents toward their children, discovered in early childhood studies, formed the basis of the studies of parent-child interaction at the adolescent stage. Thus, warmth-hostility, acceptance-rejection, restrictiveness-freedom, discipline, aggression, and parental conflict were some of the variables investigated at the adolescent stage.

The analysis of the main findings of the earlier studies led to the selection of the variables in the present study. Of the four variables selected, warm-cool and coercive-permissive were found to be common to most of the previous studies and so were considered significant. Literature in psychology of adolescence refers to parent-child conflict as one of the major problems and so the variable was included in the study. Democratic-authoritarian dimension was studied to find out to what extent contact with the Western culture and the recently started experiment in democratic government in India has permeated home atmosphere. A study of emotional climate of the family was considered necessary for understanding the aspects of parent-child relationships being studied. Though most of the previous studies tried to investigate the ante-

cedent personality variables of children, no such attempt was made in the present study. The exploratory nature of the study was considered necessary as a first step to wider research in this field in India.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The Choice of Method

Observations, interviews, questionnaires, attitude scales, and projective techniques are the main methods in the study of parent-child relationships. The adoption of a particular method must be based on a clear understanding of its relative merits and limitations and suitability for the nature of the study to be undertaken.

For the purpose of the present study, the interview technique was considered best. This method is suitable for broad understanding of inter-personal relationships, especially when adults are subjects. According to Mussen (1960, P 561) it is particularly well adopted to uncover subjective meaning of experiences. Adults have the necessary language equipment. Any ambiguities and wrong interpretations of questions by the interviewer are detected. Hesitation in answering questions can be noted and the interviewee can be encouraged to supply correct information. A permissive attitude on the part of the interviewer enables the interviewee to express true feelings and unacceptable attitudes.

Unconscious resistance to revealing emotionally toned experiences can be overcome by indirect and semi-projective questions. Questions to which a person is not likely to know the answers are avoided. The data collected through interviews can thus be more reliable and valid than those obtained through questionnaires.

Interviews make it possible to study a wider span of life in shorter time than observations. They are thus economical in terms of time and money. The stage of development studied was also not very suitable for observations. At this stage, occasions of parent-child interactions are fewer than in infancy, and observers may have to wait long hours to observe the specific behavior before it occurs.

Attitude scales are used when basic data on a topic are available and projective techniques are employed to study emotionally toned behavior. As there is lack of much information on mother-daughter relationships of adolescent girls in India, and since the present study was not specifically directed to investigation of deep emotions, both the methods were considered unsuitable.

Interview procedures are basically subjective, variable and dependent upon the skill of the interviewer, but the appeal of interview is in its great flexibility (Thorndike and Hagen, 1961, P 319). The interview can be structured in whatever way seems suitable to the interviewer, in the light of the purpose of the

Interviews and responses elicited to prior questions. It is possible to adopt the language to the person being interviewed and questions are introduced in their natural context. A completely free interview, however, makes the data incomparable from case to case and may fail to explore all the aspects of interpersonal relationships. A completely structured interview is suggestive and directive. It gives the interviewer complete control of the contents of the area, but at the same time prevents him from taking advantage of the situation as it develops. A semi-structured interview schedule, with open-ended questions, allows for some flexibility, retains the advantages of direct personal contact, reduces subjectivity and variability, and so it was adopted in the present study.

Drawing up of interview Schedule

Three terms, variable, scale and item, are used in the following discussion. Variables are the main qualities of parent-child relationships. Scales are quantified indicators of the qualities of actions in parent-child interactions, focusing upon various aspects of variables. Items are specific questions that elicit information about the parent or the child behavior and their interactions.

The qualities of action or behavior during mother-daughter interactions at the adolescent stage were noted. Then various

interview schedules, such as Sears and others' (1957) and Bandura's (1959), observation guides used in the Berkeley Growth Studies (Champney, 1941), and attitude scales, such as Form IV of PARI (Parent Attitude Research Instrument, Schaefer and Bell, 1958) were examined. Any new scales suggested as a result of these examinations were added to the list of scales noted earlier. An attempt was made to get at those things that happen to an adolescent girl in the home in relation to her parents, especially the mother, and from this analysis of psychological influences, specific variables were selected. A final selection of sub-variables for the study was made on the basis of the following principles suggested by Champney (1941):

1. Each variable should be a significant way in which parents vary and should be a functionally significant dimension of the environment affecting the child's personality development.
2. It should be possible to evaluate the variable through interview.
3. It must lend itself to description in terms of a quantitative linear scale running from one extreme to the other, from the highest to the lowest.
4. It must form a common characteristic of homes and of parent behavior.

5. One variable should not overlap in definition with another variable and the whole list should form a broad sample of parent-child interactions.

On the basis of the list of scales or of sub-variables thus prepared, an interview schedule was drawn up. It was not considered possible to construct an interview schedule which would be objective in the sense that simple, specific answers could be checked off mechanically. Rather, a schedule was designed to permit the rating of variables of relationships on the basis of answers to specific questions and the tone of the interview as a whole. The questions were so worded that they would be properly understood and would give no indication of value judgement of mother's answers or suggest that a particular answer was right or wrong. To achieve this, often the questions were begun with words which suggested that a wide range of answers were socially acceptable, eg., "Some mothers do this, others do that, what do you do? Some mothers think this to be correct, others that to be correct. What is your opinion?", etc.

In order to avoid the development of response-sets, scales expected to reveal a particular aspect of the relationships were distributed at random over the interview schedule.

The interview schedule was at first administered to ten mothers and ambiguities of language were removed before finally

accepting it. Since these were open-ended questions the schedule was flexible. The questions referred to what mothers did in practice and not to what they believed should be done. The following interview schedule was finally adopted:

The Interview Schedule

Statement of the purpose of visit:

We are interested in learning about the education of girls in the home and would like to talk to you about _____. We came to know about you through the school your daughter attends and the teachers thought you would be willing to talk to me about your daughter.

First of all I would like to know something about the family.

How many brothers and sisters does _____ have?

General information about the mother:

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|------------|-----------------|
| Serial number | Age | Education | Caste |
| Mother tongue | | Occupation | Personal Income |
| Husband's education | | Occupation | Income |

Number of children:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Age

Sex

Other members living more or less permanently with the family

Questionnaire:¹

Scale 1: Level of academic achievement desired for girl.

1. How is _____ doing in school? Are you satisfied with her progress at school?² How far?
 - a. Does she know how you feel about it?
 - b. Up to what stage will you educate her?
 - c. What would you like her to do after she is through school?
 - d. What does her father want her to be?

Scale 2: Acceptance of mother's academic goal.

2. Up to what level does she want to study?
 - a. Does she know about your wishes?

Scale 3: Mother's pressure for achievement.

3. In what other school activities does she take part? What other things does she try to learn?
 - a. How far do you encourage her or discourage her in this?
 - b. What do you do if she succeeds in these activities?
 - c. What do you do if she does not succeed?
 - d. Do you consider it important that she should take part in as many activities as possible?

¹ The sub-variable or the scale to be rated is noted at the top of a group of items to serve as a guide to what is to be elicited. This was found very useful while conducting interviews.

The questions were translated into Hindi for use with mothers, except in case of five mothers, who spoke Marathi, the interviewer's native tongue.

² The question was generally not found necessary because mothers usually volunteered the information.

Scale 4: Severity of restrictions imposed on girl.

4. What are some of the things you do not allow your daughter to do?
 - a. What are some of the restrictions at home?
 - b. What are some of the restrictions outside the home?
 - c. Do you give her reasons for these restrictions?

Scale 5: Girl's acceptance of restrictions. (Reaction)

5. How does she feel about these restrictions?
 - a. Does she try to break the rules laid down? How often?
 - b. How does she express her feelings?

Scale 6: Pressure for responsibilities at home.

6. What responsibilities does she have at home? Her own things? Household work? Siblings?
 - a. To what extent do you insist that she carries out these responsibilities?

Scale 7: Girl's acceptance of responsibilities: reaction, resistance.

7. How does she feel about these responsibilities?
 - a. Does she try to evade them? How often?

Scale 8: Mother's demand for obedience.

8. Some people expect children to obey them immediately. Others are not particular. What is your feeling about it?
 - a. If she doesn't do what you ask her to do, do you drop the subject or do you insist on getting it done?

Scale 9: The extent to which girl seeks mother's help.

9. What kind of difficulties or problems does she generally have?
 - a. When in difficulty, does she prefer to go to you or to others for help or does she like to solve her own problems?

- b. To whom does she go for help? Mother, father, others?

Scale 10: Scope for independent action by girl.

10. In what matters do you allow _____ to make her own decisions?
- a. Does she select her own clothes?
 - b. Do you give her any money she can spend as she likes?
 - c. What about the choice of electives in school?
 - d. Do you influence her in the selection of her friends?
Encourage some friends? Discourage others?
 - e. Do you try to shelter her from difficulties and prevent her from committing mistakes you committed when young?¹
 - f. Some mothers feel very much concerned about the behavior of the girl in future life and try to educate her accordingly. Some mothers feel that the girl would be able to adjust to future without difficulty. What do you think? What attitudes and values would you like to inculcate in her?

Scale 11: Girl's aggression toward mother.

11. When children get angry with their mother, some mothers allow them to express their anger freely, some do not. What do you do about it?
- a. What makes her get angry with you? What do you do when she is angry?
 - b. How often does she get angry with you? Any instances?

¹ The question was generally not asked because mothers did not state any mistakes they committed when young, or any mistakes their daughters were likely to commit.

Scale 12: Enjoyment in each other's company: companionship.

12. What sort of things do you and she do together?
 - a. Do you tell each other jokes? Stories?
 - b. Do you show your affection for each other?
 - c. Some mothers feel that this type of relationship will make children take liberties, others believe that this helps to make girls behave better. How do you feel about it?
 - d. How well do you think you and she understand each other? Do you usually know how she feels? Does she seem to know how you feel?
 - e. Under what conditions do you get on each other's nerves?

Scale 13: Warmth of relationship with siblings.

13. How well does she get along with her brothers or sisters (younger, older)?
 - a. Does she help them in case of difficulty?
 - b. Does she play with them? Tell them jokes?
 - c. How often does she quarrel with them?

Scale 14: Mother's encouragement for verbalization: expression of opinion and tolerance of criticism.

14. There must be some things on which you and she disagree. What are those things? How far do you allow her to disagree with you?¹
 - a. Do you encourage her to tell you if she thinks that your rules are unreasonable? Do you allow her to criticize you?

¹

Answers to questions (c) and (d) were taken into consideration in grading scale 9, viz., the extent to which girl seeks help from mother.

- b. Do you encourage her to tell the truth by not punishing her for it?
- c. Do you encourage her to talk to you about her worries or do you consider it a bother to listen to her little problems?
- d. Do you try to console her when she is upset or do you leave her alone?

Scale 15: Other family members' help or hindrance in bringing up children.

- 15. Have any other family members helped or interfered in the girl's upbringing? Grandparents, aunts?
 - a. What has been the nature of their help?
 - b. To what extent did their ideas conflict with yours about the way a child should be brought up?
 - c. Did you give in or did you have your way?
 - d. Is the girl attached to any other member of the family (other than yourself, father, or siblings)?

Scale 16: Child's domination by one parent.

- 16. Which responsibilities about children do you think properly belong to you and which to your husband?
 - a. What decisions about children do you make without reference to your husband?¹
 - b. What decisions does your husband make without reference to you?²
 - c. Which decisions are made jointly?

1 and 2

These questions were generally not found necessary because answers to the main question elicited this information.

Scale 17: Girl's participation in decision making in family affairs.

17. Do you discuss with her any of the family affairs?
Can you give some illustrations?
 - a. Do you take her opinion when arranging family trips, religious ceremonies, parties, etc.?
 - b. Does she know about the family finances? What the family can or cannot afford?

Scale 18: Scope for privacy.

18. Some mothers make it their business to know everything that their daughters are thinking while others allow them to have their own thoughts. How do you feel about it?
 - a. In general, do you think she is frank with you or does she try to hide things from you? What kind of things do you think she hides from you?

Scale 19: Use of punishment: frequency and severity.

19. How do you go about correcting _____ and getting her to do what you want? What do you do if she does not follow the rules laid down by you? How do you punish her?
 - a. How often are you required to use these methods?
 - b. How does she react to punishment?
 - c. Does she get over it quickly?
 - d. For what is she required to be most frequently punished?
 - e. What do you do when she quarrels with her siblings?
 - f. Do you smooth things over after punishment?

Scale 20: Use of rewards: positive methods of discipline.

20. Do you give any rewards for good behavior? Material rewards? Praise?

- a. How often do you do this?
- b. Do you hold up any one as an example of good behavior? Bad behavior?

Scale 21: Agreement between parents.

- 21. How far do you and her father agree over the ways of bringing up the girl (education, discipline, restrictions, responsibilities)?
 - a. On what points do you not agree?
 - b. Do children know that you disagree?
 - c. Who usually disciplines her?

Scale 22: Appreciation of girl.

- 22. Has it been easy to bring her up or has she been a difficult child?
 - a. Has she ever been an interference in your activities?
 - b. What things do you like about her? Abilities, skills, achievements?
 - c. What things do you dislike about her (behavior, temperament, appearance)?

Scale 23: Changes in girl.

- 23. What recent changes in her behavior or ideas have you noticed?
 - a. During the last two or three years, what have been your main concerns or problems about her?

Scale 24: Reaction to interview.

- 24. Now that the interview is over, can you tell me how you have felt about it? Was it very tiresome to answer my questions?
 - a. Were there any questions you did not like to answer?

Selection of Subjects and Securing Contacts

A sample of subjects of a wide variety as regards educational background, economic status and regional distribution in the city was aimed at and so contacts were established through all the seven girls' higher secondary schools in the city and one women's college with class Xi (pre-university class) attached to it.

The total number of girls enrolled in classes ix and xi of these institutions was noted. Class X was omitted because this was a terminal class. Omitting this class made it possible to follow up any subject, at least for a year, if necessary. It was planned to interview one hundred mothers, so addresses of over one hundred and fifty mothers were collected from eight schools in proportion to their enrolment in these classes. In order to make a random selection, the names of the first and every eighth girl from a class were noted, the next being taken if any one of the girls did not satisfy the requirements of being a Hindu and having both the parents living.

Most of the teachers explained to the class briefly that the addresses of some of them were being taken for a research study and that some lady would call on their mothers for a talk. No other information was given, nor was prior consent of mothers obtained. It was felt that if prior consent was asked for, there would be too many refusals resulting in a selective sample, but

If no reason for securing the address was given, there might be suspicion and opposition to interview.

Conducting the Interview

The study was presented to mothers as an attempt to understand the home life and education of girls, for if it was presented as a study of parent-child relationships, there was a possibility of the mother being on the defensive. General unwillingness of parents to talk about their adolescent daughters was also taken into consideration and so the interview began with some vague statements about the purpose. If the mother appeared to hesitate to speak about the girl's home life, it was presented as a study of the girl's home education, but if discussion about home education was taken as a threat to the mother, the former point was stressed. It was, however, found that there was less resistance to speaking about girls' home education and what parents did for them, than about their home life in general, so that probably gave mothers some idea about the limits of the interview.

Mothers made many inquiries. Some wanted to know if these investigations would benefit their children or whether any educational or psychological guidance facilities were being made available. One mother refused to answer questions until she had talked about the school problems of all her daughters and had received the interviewer's advice. Every effort was, however, made

to avoid any diversion as it could distort answers.

Some mothers seemed to feel that if they reported good behavior on the part of children it would somehow help them in school, and that a bad report would have an adverse effect on children's careers. Therefore, they were trying to give favorable impressions about children. This tendency was reduced by pointing out to them that the interviewer had no direct connection with the school.

All questions were answered and an attempt was made to allay all suspicions before beginning the interview. Any further doubts were somewhat overcome during the course of conversation.

Reference to school teachers as a source of contact and information about mutual acquaintances, whenever possible, helped to establish rapport. The confidential nature of the interview was explained, but whenever there was any evidence of suspicion on the part of the mother, complete privacy was not insisted upon. Some woman relation, other than the daughter, was also present in such cases. At times the questionnaire was shown to other members of the family, especially men if they were at home, and their permission for the interview was always a great help.

General information about the interviewee was noted and an attempt was made to secure first responses from others to other questions by exercising some pressure for speed in answering

questions when necessary. Any observations that would throw light on income, social status, habits, the ways of living, and the emotional climate of the family, were noted.

Treatment of the Data

General information about the sample was classified. Answers given by mothers were analyzed into different categories, noting down the number of mothers reporting under each category.

Answers of each mother with reference to each sub-variable were rated on a five-point scale. The criteria for guidance in rating were adopted after studying answers of all the mothers on items grouped under each sub-variable (Appendix). The number of points on different scales could vary (Sears and others, 1957), but a rating scale of the same number of points throughout was preferred as the scales were grouped under a few main variables and the scores added up for quantitative assessment of the relationships (Table i). The variety and heterogeneity of answers made it very difficult to prepare such a rating schedule, but the main aim of grading each scale with reference to intensity was kept in view.

The rating by the interviewer is very likely to be influenced by the tone of the mother's narration, e.g., a mother may report that the girl has many responsibilities at home and yet may be so casual about what she expects of the girl that the pressure appears

to be negligible, while, another mother may report a few responsibilities but state them in such a manner that pressure appears to be great. When the interviews are tape recorded the raters have access to exactly the same material, but in this case the answers were not so recorded and so great care was taken in developing criteria for rating to ensure clarity of statements. All the cases were rated by the interviewer and one more person well trained in this type of work. The first five interviews were rated after mutual discussion. The next five interviews were rated separately and the scores were compared. Differences of more than one point were adjusted after mutual discussion.

Of the two extremes in which parent-child relationships may vary, positive relationships and permissive ways of dealing with the girl were assigned higher values on the scale. This does not, however, imply that the extreme of higher numerical value indicates desirability. This would depend upon the trait in question and cultural standards, e.g., authoritarian child-rearing practices may be approved by some cultures and not by others.

Scales of this type make interpretations somewhat easy, but can lead to rater sets. To avoid this, the questionnaire was so worded that positive answers did not necessarily indicate positive relationship as illustrated below:

Scale 3: Mother's pressure for achievement.

Q 3 d: Do you consider it important that she should take part in as many activities as possible and not waste any time?

Answer in the affirmative indicates high pressure and hence low score.

Scale 14: Mother's encouragement for expression of opinion.

Q 14 a: Do you encourage her to tell you if she thinks that your rules are unreasonable?

Here answer in the affirmative indicates democratic behavior and hence high score.

Scores on different scales were added up to arrive at quantitative values of the main variables of parent-child relationships and the family atmosphere (Table 1). The first four variables refer directly to mother-daughter relationships. Variable five deals with total family relationships. The possibility of presence in the home of persons other than the immediate family members prompted the writer to introduce this variable. The items refer to interactions of members other than the mother and the daughter. It was considered better for the development of children and cordiality in the family relationships that children were not dominated by one parent.

Table I

Grouping of Scales Under Main Variables

| Variable | Scale Number | Scale |
|----------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | | <u>Harmonious-conflictual</u> |
| | 2 | Acceptance of mother's academic goal |
| | 5 | Girl's acceptance of restrictions |
| | 7 | Girl's acceptance of responsibilities |
| | 11 | Girl's aggression toward mother |
| 2 | | <u>Coercive-permissive</u> |
| | 3 | Mother's pressure for achievement |
| | 4 | Severity of restrictions imposed on girl |
| | 6 | Pressure for responsibilities at home |
| | 19 | Use of punishment: frequency and severity |
| 3 | | <u>Democratic-authoritarian</u> |
| | 8 | Mother's demand for obedience |
| | 10 | Scope for independent action by girl |
| | 14 | Mother's encouragement for expression of opinion |
| | 17 | Girl's participation in decision making |
| 4 | | <u>Warm-cool</u> |
| | 9 | The extent to which girl seeks mother's help |
| | 12 | Enjoyment in each other's company |
| | 20 | Use of rewards |
| | 22 | Appreciation of girl |
| 5 | | <u>Emotional climate of the family</u> |
| | 13 | Warmth of relationship with siblings |

Table 1 (Continued)

| Variable | Scale Number | Scale |
|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------|
| | 15 | Other family members' help or hindrance |
| | 16 | Child's domination by one parent |
| | 21 | Agreement between parents |
| Other scales | | |
| | 1 | Level of academic achievement desired for girl |
| | 18 | Scope for privacy |

All cases were rated by the interviewer and by one more person as mentioned earlier. The inter-rater correlations ranging between 0.68 to 0.93 indicate objectivity of rating (Table 2).

Table 2

Mean Scores Indicating Mother-Daughter Relationships, Emotional Climate of the Family and Inter-Rater Reliability

| Variable | | Mean | SD | r |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------|------|------|
| 1. Harmonious-conflictual | Rater x | 15.97 | 2.79 | 0.86 |
| | Rater y | 15.97 | 2.67 | |
| 2. Coercive-permissive | Rater x | 15.12 | 1.90 | 0.93 |
| | Rater y | 14.74 | 1.89 | |
| 3. Democratic-authoritarian | Rater x | 10.77 | 2.11 | 0.68 |
| | Rater y | 9.08 | 1.94 | |
| 4. Warm-cool | Rater x | 12.15 | 2.48 | 0.72 |
| | Rater y | 10.00 | 1.93 | |

Table 2 (Continued)

| Variable | Mean | SD | r |
|------------------------------|---------|-------|------|
| 5. Emotional climate of home | Rater x | 15.31 | 2.15 |
| | Rater y | 13.40 | 2.15 |

In the above table, the minimum score is 4, maximum score 20.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Variables

The Sample

The number of girls enrolled in classes IX and XI, the number of mothers interviewed, and the number who had to be dropped are noted (Table 3). The sample was only approximately proportionate to the enrollment in classes IX and XI in each school. Cooperation of teachers, difficulty of locating houses in some areas, and willingness of mothers to be interviewed were the main factors influencing availability of subjects.

Table 3

Composition of the Sample With Reference to Schools and Enrollment in Grades IX and XI

| School | Enrollment in grades IX and XI (1961-1962) | No. of mothers interviewed | No. of mothers who could not be interviewed |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| A | 205 | 14 | 6 |
| B | 228 | 14 | 5 |
| C | 105 | 12 | 2 |
| D | 111 | 12 | 6 |
| E | 121 | 13 | 5 |
| F | 136 | 10 | 9 |
| G | 163 | 15 | 3 |

Table 3 (Continued)

| School | Enrollment in grades IX and XI (1961-1962) | No. of mothers interviewed | No. of mothers who could not be interviewed |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| H | 100 | 10 | 3 |
| Total: | 1169 | 100 | 39 |

Of the eight schools, seven were private. There is some difference in the socio-economic background of girls attending these schools. It is commonly observed that school A has a greater proportion of girls of higher income group, but their parents are somewhat conservative. Schools B, C, E, and F are attended mostly by girls coming from lower middle class families. Of these, C and E have a greater proportion of girls belonging to a particular cultural group. Schools D, G and H tend to enroll girls from more educated middle class and higher middle class families. They are expected to go for higher education. The schools C, D, E, G and H from which proportionately greater number of mothers were interviewed, however, included all types. The distribution of the sample in terms of languages and castes (Table 8) indicates that the sample was drawn from all cultural groups of Banaras and appears to be fairly representative of mothers of high school girls of Banaras.

The reasons for inability to interview some mothers varied (Table 4). It is not possible to ascertain the extent and nature of bias in the sample as a result of this. Of the thirty-nine mothers who could not be interviewed, however, only seven declined to be interviewed, two wanted to consult father and in one case the daughter refused to let mother speak in privacy. These ten mothers were likely to differ from other mothers in their relationships with their daughters, but their number may not have been large enough to influence the direction of the findings to any great extent.

Table 4

Reasons for Non-Availability of Some Mothers for Interview

| Reason | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Inability to locate the house | 11 |
| Mother temporarily absent from home | 9 |
| Refusal to be interviewed | 7 |
| Girl lived with other relatives for education | 6 |
| Illness in the family | 3 |
| Mother's desire to consult father | 2 |
| Girl's refusal to let mother speak in privacy | 1 |
| Total | 39 |

There were only a few items on which some hesitation in giving full information was apparent. Mothers who had agreed to be interviewed were cooperative and many of them even hospitable.

At times they volunteered more information than was asked for.

The mothers' ages ranged between thirty and fifty, sixty-three mothers falling in the age group of thirty-one to forty-years, the number gradually decreasing with increase in age. Eighty-seven mothers had not passed the high school examination and only two were graduates. Among those who had not passed the high school examination, twenty-seven were illiterate, seventeen could read and write although they had no regular schooling, seventeen were educated up to primary stage and twenty-six up to the middle school stage. Ninety-five mothers had no income of their own.

Table 5

Composition of the Sample With Reference to Mothers' Age, Education, Occupation and Income

| Age | | Education | | Occupation | | Income | |
|------------|-----|---------------|-----|------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| Years | No. | Level | No. | No. | | Rs/mo. | No. |
| 31 - 35 | 32 | Below H.S. | 87 | House wife | 95 | Below 150 | 4 |
| 36 - 40 | 31 | High School | 9 | Teacher | 3 | 151 - 300 | |
| 41 - 45 | 20 | Intermed. | 2 | Musician | 1 | 301 - 600 | |
| 46 - 50 | 14 | B. A. | 2 | Secretary | 1 | 601 -1200 | 1 |
| 51 & above | 3 | M. A. & above | | | | 1201 & above | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 5 |

Fathers were more educated than mothers (Table 6). Only seventeen had not passed the high school examination as against

eighty-seven mothers falling in that category. Twenty-nine fathers were college graduates, while only two mothers reached that level. They belonged to business, clerical and professional groups with the maximum number, i.e., thirty-nine, falling in the middle income group of three hundred and one to six hundred rupees per month.

Table 6

Composition of the Sample With Reference to Fathers' Education, Occupation and Income

| Education | | Occupation | | Income | |
|---------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| Level | No. | | No. | Rs/mo. | No. |
| Below H. S. | 17 | Businessman | 31 | Below 150 | 16 |
| High School | 33 | Clerk | 25 | 151 - 300 | 26 |
| Intermed. | 21 | Professional | 15 | 301 - 600 | 39 |
| B. A. | 15 | Teacher | 5 | 601 -1200 | 16 |
| M. A. & above | 14 | Government officer | 4 | 1201 & above | 3 |
| | | Old landlord | 4 | | |
| | | Skilled laborer | 4 | | |
| | | Miscellaneous | 12 | | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | | 100 |

It must be stated, however, that correct information about mothers' ages and family income was difficult to obtain. No unwillingness to admit the age was apparent, age being traditionally respected, but many mothers had only vague ideas about their ages and two or three years did not seem to make any difference to them.

Information about the family income was given rather reluctantly in vague terms, and many times the accuracy of information was doubtful. All that they knew was the amount of money they received for household expenses and some of them were usually not required to handle money, purchases being made for them by men.

The ages of girls whose mothers were selected ranged between twelve to eighteen, the largest number being of fourteen and sixteen years of age (Table 7). Two modal points are evidently a result of selecting girls from IX and XI grades and omitting grade X. A majority of the girls were of first to fourth ordinal position.

Table 7

Composition of the Sample With Reference to Girls' Age and Ordinal Position

| Age in years | No. | Ordinal position | No. |
|--------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| 12 | 2 | Only child ¹ | 2 |
| 13 | 13 | Last child ² | 8 |
| 14 | 21 | 1st | 27 |
| 15 | 14 | 2nd | 22 |
| 16 | 26 | 3rd | 15 |
| 17 | 11 | 4th | 12 |
| 18 | 13 | 5th | 10 |
| | | 6th and above | 4 |
| Total | 100 | Total | 100 |

¹ and ² The positions of the only and the last children, being more critical from the point of view of parent-child relationships, are noted separately and are not included with other ordinal position.

The cosmopolitan nature of the population of Banaras (Table 8) was reflected in the languages of the mothers. Brahmin and Kayastha mothers predominated, these castes being traditionally expected to educate their children. Other castes, however, were also represented showing that education is spreading among them.

Table 8

Composition of the Sample With Reference to Caste, Mother Tongue and Size of the Families

| Caste | No. of families | Mother tongue | No. of families | No. of children in the family | No. of families | Other members in the family | No. of families |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Brahmin | 38 | Hindi | 55 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 54 |
| Kayastha | 25 | Bengali | 26 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 19 |
| Vaishya | 16 | Punjabi | 6 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 8 |
| Kshatriya | 14 | Marathi | 5 | 4 | 19 | 3 | 3 |
| Other castes | 7 | Gujrathi | 3 | 5 | 15 | 4 | 5 |
| | | Tamil | 2 | 6 | 20 | 5 | 3 |
| | | Nepali | 2 | 7 | 13 | 6 to 18 | 8 |
| | | Sindhi | 1 | 8 | 6 | | |
| | | | | 9 | 10 | | |
| | | | | 10 | 2 | | |
| Total | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | | 100 |

Main Variables

Harmonious-conflictual. - The degree of harmony in mother-daughter relationships was judged by the degree of girls' acceptance of mothers' academic goals, restrictions, and responsibilities and their aggression toward mothers.

Academic goals. - The question, "Up to what level does she want to study?" and, "Does she know about your wishes?" were asked to find out if there was any conflict between the girl's and the mother's aspirations and revealed the nature of communication between the parents and the girl with reference to her education. The direction of the girl's education as a result of mutual discussion between the parents and the girl was rather rare. There was some vague understanding on the part of the girl, developed through parents' casual remarks, as to the level up to which she would be educated and she generally accepted this. Girls seemed to have a vague desire to study, probably more than the parents wanted, but did not express themselves very emphatically. It is considered modest not to do so. Whenever rejection was reported, mothers indicated that the girls' ideas and aspirations were unrealistic. In some cases, there appeared to be almost complete lack of communication between parents and daughters

about the parent's plans for their daughters' education. Thirteen mothers reported that their daughters did not know up to what level they would be educated. Some mothers took care not to let the daughters know about their wishes in the matter. Plans for girls' education were governed by plans for their marriage and many mothers considered it wiser not to let the daughters know anything about their future until they had fixed up a match so that the girls would not be disturbed in any way.

Though it was rather difficult to judge the degree of acceptance of mother's academic goals by the girls, only one case of complete rejection was reported.

Table 9

Scale 2: Acceptance of Mothers' Academic Goals

| | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Complete rejection | 1 |
| 2. Some rejection | 17 |
| 3. Some mutual agreement on goals | 9 |
| 4. Almost complete agreement or acceptance | 37 |
| 5. Complete agreement and acceptance | 36 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.90 |

Some specimen answers with scores assigned to them:

Score 2

M 44: I would like her to get married after high school education. She would like to go for higher education.¹

Score 3

M 7: She will go to junior college and then we shall take her wishes into consideration. She would like to be a doctor.

Score 4

M 104: I would like her to take a masters degree in music. She would also like to learn music, but her thoughts are not fully developed and sometimes she wonders if she should go for medicine.

Score 5

M 14: I would like her to go up to M.A. She would also like to do the same.

Table 10

Scale 5: Girls' Acceptance of Restrictions

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Extremely resistant, unwilling to accept restrictions | 3 |
| 2. Occasional violation or good deal of grumbling | 1 |
| 3. Some dislike of restrictions; grumbling but no violation | 6 |

¹ Mothers are referred to by their case numbers.

Table 10 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 4. Mild dislike of restrictions but no violation | 19 |
| 5. Accepts restrictions completely | 71 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 4.54 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 20: She does not like restrictions. Sometimes tells me bluntly that she would not follow a particular restriction. Talks to me as if she were my mother-in-law or older sister-in-law.

Score 2

M 44: She does not like the rules, argues about them, but rarely evades them.

Score 3

M 25: Children these days mind such things, but she follows all rules.

M 52: She minds the restrictions to some extent, but never evades them.

Score 4

M 29: Sometimes she likes to go out, but is not obstinate.

She is an innocent, shy girl and knows her father's wishes.

M 55: She does not appreciate the rules very much, but does not evade them. I am also not very strict about them.

Score 5

M 45: She likes these rules, never evades them.

A majority of girls accepted restrictions without resentment. Some mothers gave the following reasons for girls' acceptance of restrictions:

Number of mothers reporting

1. Did not dislike restrictions 33
2. Did not like going out 22
3. Considered them to be in her interest 9
4. Afraid to go out 4

Table 11

Scale 7: Girls' Acceptance of Responsibilities : Reaction

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Dislikes work and refuses it almost bluntly | 3 |
| 2. Dislikes work, but refusal is rare | 13 |
| 3. Mild dislike for work, but a willing worker or no expression of likes and dislikes | 16 |
| 4. Likes work, but may occasionally refuse it on legitimate grounds such as lack of time or indisposition | 34 |

Table 11 (Continued)

| Number of cases | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 5. Likes work and is ready for it even if work is heavy | 34 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.83 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 50: No, she does not like work, even her own things are untidy. I have to insist on her doing some things.

Score 2

M 16: I rarely ask her to do any domestic work. She does not like it.

M 68: She has no particular liking for work, but does it when asked.

Score 3

M 23: She likes to tidy up and decorate the house, but dislikes any heavy work. I do not insist on her doing it.

M 64: Sometimes she appears to be fond of work and at other times she seems to dislike it. When she is not well I do not insist on her doing it. In case of need she lends a helping hand.

Score 4

M 67: Yes, she likes the work and does not evade it. She does not, however, have many responsibilities.

M 94: On the whole, she likes domestic work and does it according to her own convenience.

Score 5

M 32: She is quite fond of work and rarely refuses to help with it.

M 96: I have never assigned work separately to the two girls. Right from the beginning they do whatever they can. We have no servant.

Some mothers were very considerate to daughters and reported consideration on the part of girls. Only in a few cases there was some tension over distribution of work among sisters, and there was some resentment of duties.

Table 12

Scale 11: Girls' Aggression Toward Mothers

| | Number of cases |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Very often | 1 |
| 2. Several times | 7 |
| 3. Sometimes | 31 |
| 4. Rare | 41 |
| 5. Almost never | 20 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.72 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 36: She does not like work. If I ask her to do anything, she answers me back (Question 6).

I scold her when she does not obey me, but it does not affect her. She talks like mad (Question 19).

I aks her to learn a number of things, but she is so aggressive and disobedient that she just does not pay any heed to what I tell her (Question 3a).¹

Score 2

M 20: Yes, she gets angry with me if she cannot get things done the way she wants. I don't pay much attention to it, but leave her to herself.

Score 3

M 44: When I scold her for any mistake or for shirking work, she sometimes gets angry with me.

Score 4

M 1: No, she rarely gets angry with me.

Score 5

M 73: She never gets angry with me. I may scold her, but she is never angry.

¹ When asked specifically about aggression of the daughter against her, the mother talked more in general terms about all her children, but the interview had many references to this girl's aggression against mother.

A majority of the mothers reported that girls rarely got angry with them and even when they did, their main reaction was withdrawal rather than violent expression of anger.

Coercive-permissive. - Mothers were questioned about their behavior in four areas to determine whether they were coercive or permissive. The extent to which they brought pressure on girls for achievement, the severity of restrictions imposed on girls, pressure for responsibilities and the frequency and severity of punishment indicated the degree of coerciveness.

Mothers' concern for girls' success in both academic and non-academic fields was taken into consideration for grading the following scale (Table 13). Some mothers encouraged girls to participate in non-academic activities and to learn something other than school subjects, but there was not much pressure for achievement. Some pressure for success in academic activities, however, could be discerned.

Table 13

Scale 3: Pressure for Achievement

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Strong and constant pressure | 3 |
| 2. Fairly regular pressure | 6 |
| 3. Some pressure for girl to come up to expectations | 30 |

Table 13 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 4. Very mild pressure. Possibility of some pressure if achievement below expectation | 42 |
| 5. No pressure | 19 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.68 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 47: Again and again I remind her about home work. The whole day I have to tell her to do something.

Score 2

M 39: I am pleased with all her work, but do not tell this to her. I scold her so that she may not waste her time.

Score 3

M 1: Yes, I tell her to learn sewing and cooking, but when she tells me that she can do no more, I don't press her.

M 61: She is fond of dancing and acting. I don't scold her for not learning new things. She learns some things of her own accord; I have to tell her to learn a few other things.

Score 4

M 6: She is good at sewing, cooking, and other domestic arts. I am happy, I don't have to try much for her progress.

M 92: She learns painting, music, dancing and cooking; I encourage her to do this. Yes, I do try a little and see that she learns new things.

Score 5

M 9: She learns everything on her own initiative.

The pressure for achievement was so rare and the manner of exerting it is so mild that the resistance to pressure was also low. Only three mothers reported resistance, but two of them explained that the school work was somewhat too heavy and only in one case there appeared to be traces of contra-suggestion.

Table 14

Scale 4: Severity of Restrictions Imposed on Girls

| | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Strict rules in almost all areas | 2 |
| 2. Strict rules in some areas and mild in others | 2 |
| 3. Moderate -- some latitude is given | 9 |
| 4. A few restrictions in major areas | 81 |
| 5. No restrictions | 6 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.87 |

Severity of restrictions was judged mainly on the basis of number of restrictions within the house or outside. Only three mothers reported strict rules and so specimen answers are given only for the last three scores.

Score 3

M 48: No particular restriction at home. We do not allow her to go out alone. I just tell her that we are conservative and do not like her going out.

M 100: There are no restrictions at home, no, not in our home. As for going out, I am neither too strict nor too lenient. I don't want them to be too forward and notorious. I don't give them any reasons, that is just a way of life with us.

M 68: No restrictions at home. We just don't allow her to go out alone.

M 1: She never does anything wrong and so no need of any restrictions. School work leaves her no time for going out.

Score 5

M 76: No, not many restrictions. She is the only child at home and so sometimes I send her on some errands.

Very few parents imposed restrictions on girls in the home. An adolescent girl was evidently rather too old for this. Her previous training had inculcated in her habits of orderly living and so mothers did not have to pay much attention to her at home. Girls' movements outside the home were, however, very restricted.

Table 15

Scale 6: Pressure for Responsibilities at Home

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Many jobs to perform, high pressure | 7 |
| 2. Many responsibilities, moderate pressure | 13 |
| 3. Some demands, some pressure | 24 |
| 4. Moderate demands, low pressure | 34 |
| 5. No responsibilities | 22 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.51 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 2: Cooking, cleaning, laundry, and making beds. These are her daily duties unless she is sick.

M 5: Cooking, taking care of children, storing water, etc. I had to tell her once. Now she knows her duties and likes them.

Score 2

M 3: She takes care of the children, looks after me and helps in other domestic work. She likes the work. At the time of school examinations she gets nervous. Then I tell her how to organize work.

Score 3

M 92: I do not expect her to work when school examinations are

being conducted. Otherwise, she cooks on alternate evenings. In summer vacations she is assigned more duties.

Score 4

- M 20: I ask her to help a little in domestic work, but not much because she has to complete her home work.
- M 50: At home she has no daily duties to perform. After completing her home work she does whatever she can.

Score 5

- M 8: She has no daily duties at home. If she likes, she helps a little in taking care of her brothers and sisters.
- M 69: She has no responsibilities at home. She is left free to do her home work.

Most of the girls had some duties to perform at home. The pressure of work was also heavy in twenty cases (Table 15). This was rather unexpected and some of the mothers were apologetic about it.

Table 16

Scale 19: Use of Punishment: Frequency and Severity

| | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Punished very frequently or very severely | 1 |
| 2. Punished frequently or severely | 4 |
| 3. Punished sometimes or with some severity | 28 |

Table 16 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 4. Rare, mild rebuke | 45 |
| 5. None | 22 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.83 |

The word "punishment" covered all that was done by the mother in her attempts to make the girl realize that she had made a mistake and should regret it. The methods of discipline at this stage were necessarily mild.

Very few mothers smoothed over things after they had punished the girl. They believed that smoothing things over would nullify the effects of punishment. This and other attitudes of mothers towards discipline are revealed in the following answers of mothers:

Score 1

M 1: I scold her. Sometimes I do not give her any meal or do not allow her to go out. This is rare. She learns to avoid what parents don't approve of. I don't smooth things over after scolding, it spoils the children. Once I scolded her for spoiling a dish. She went without food for three days, yet I did not make it up to her.

Score 2

M 38: I have to scold her at every step. It has a good effect.

She does not seem to mind being scolded and I don't pay much attention to how she feels. Sometimes I smooth things over.

M 95: At times she does not obey me. I scold her and then she obeys. She says I scold her more than father. I have to. I smooth things over. After all, she is a child.

Mothers must do both -- scold and love.

Score 3

M 78: Sometimes, though not very often, I have to scold her.

She minds for some time. I do not smooth things over.

That has an opposite effect. I scold her for her own good. Why should the things be smoothed over?

M 82: Sometimes I have to scold her. It changes her mood.

But an affectionate word from some one and she is all right. Other people try to smooth things over, I don't.

Score 4

M 3: Generally, she obeys me and so I don't have to scold her.

When I rebuke her she realizes that I am right. For some time she feels sad and then regains her normal mood. Yes, I do smooth things over.

M 4: Sometimes I had to scold her for being indifferent to my instructions. Now she understands things and does not disobey me. Had I not been careful during her childhood, she would not have been so good. For the last one year she has been very good. I don't smooth things over. I explain to her why I consider her behavior wrong.

M 13: I rarely scold her. If she disobeys me, I ask her the reasons for doing so.

M 20: When children disobey me, I feel sad and keep quiet. I rarely scold them.

Score 5

M 21: I don't remember her disobeying me and my scolding her.

M 23: I don't scold her for anything, I talk to her affectionately.

Democratic-authoritarian. - Democratic behavior of mothers was judged by the extent to which they expected immediate obedience from their daughters and gave them scope for independent action, expression of opinion, and participation in decision-making in matters that concerned the family.

Table 17

Scale 8: Mothers' Demand for Obedience

| | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Expects immediate obedience and sees that she gets it | 15 |
| 2. Generally expects obedience, but takes into consideration the reasonableness of girls' attitude | 22 |
| 3. Moderate demand for obedience; tolerates delay on some occasions and not on others | 20 |
| 4. Expects some obedience, but not immediate; tolerates non-compliance | 31 |
| 5. The problem of obedience does not arise as the girl obeys out of love and respect | 12 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.03 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 28: I do not make any unreasonable demands, but once I ask for something to be done I get it done.

M 90: I want them to obey me immediately. Of course they do so, otherwise I would scold them.

Score 2

M 18: I like her to obey me immediately, but I do not always insist on it.

Score 3

M 78: We cannot always expect them to obey us immediately.

Sometimes we have to consider their wishes.

M 79: She does not obey me immediately. If she is doing school work I leave her alone, otherwise I get it done.

Score 4

M 8: She is not afraid of me. Sometimes she pays heed to what I say, and sometimes does not. I leave her alone when she is not in a mood to do something.

M 12: I don't insist on her obeying me immediately. Sometimes, when she does not listen to me, I leave her alone.

Score 5

M 32: I do not insist on anything, but she never disobeys me.

M 56: She obeys me implicitly. I am required to scold the younger daughter, but this girl is very docile.

Mothers did not find it difficult to secure obedience, though their attitude towards the problem and the way it was handled varied.

Table 18

Scale 10: Scope for Independent Action by Girl

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Very little scope | 19 |
| 2. Moderate scope for independent action in minor things, such as choice of clothes, etc. | 32 |

Table 18 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 3. Some scope for independent action; girl consulted in matters that concern her | 38 |
| 4. A good deal of scope-help and advice whenever help is sought, but no interference in the girl's action | 10 |
| 5. Full scope for independent action | 1 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 2.42 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 2: No, we do not let her do what she likes. She has to act according to our wishes. She dresses according to our ideas. Father does not let her use trousers and tunic. We do not give her any pocket money. She consults friends in choice of school subjects. But father asked her to take Sanskrit and not music, which was the subject of her choice. She took Sanskrit. We do not give her much freedom. We want her to be under our discipline.

Score 2

M 5: She uses the clothes we give her. She does not express her likes and dislikes. We do not give her pocket money, but give some money for specific needs. She consults

father and school friends in electing subjects. She took music of her own choice. Yes, we do guide her to some extent.

M 44: We allow her to choose her own clothes. No pocket money is given, but money is given for a specific purpose. She elects school subjects without consulting us. We do not influence her selection of friends, but do not let her go out with them.

Score 4

M 75: She uses the clothes we give her. She takes into consideration our financial position while expressing her wishes in the matter. She saves for buying books the money we give for snacks. Her aunt and teachers advise her about school subjects to be elected, but she follows her wishes in the matter. We do not interfere in the choice of her friends. They are good. How long can we watch over her!

Scope for independent action was explored in areas that referred to girls' personal lives, i.e., clothes, pocket money, school subjects and friends. It should be noted that even in personal matters girls had only moderate scope for doing what they liked.

Verbalization (Question 14). - Verbalization

can be of different types and hence may refer to different aspects of mother-daughter relationships. A girl may express her opinion on points of agreement or disagreement with the mother and may even criticize the mother, in which cases verbalization is a sign of democratic relationship between the child and the parent. When a girl relates her experiences to the mother, talks about her worries, and is consoled by the mother when upset, it indicates warmth of relationship. Encouragement to tell the truth by not punishing for it indicates mother's ideas about discipline and learning. Answers to the questions referring to encouragement for verbalization were thus split up on the basis of what they signified about the parent-child relationships.

Expression of opinions, disagreements and criticism of mother's actions were taken into consideration for rating scale number fourteen, viz., mother's encouragement for expression of opinion. Mothers do not very much encourage expression of opinion or criticism by the girl, though they listen to their problems and woes and console them.

Table 19

Scale 14: Mothers' Encouragement for Expression of Opinion

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Positive discouragement | 8 |
| 2. Some discouragement | 42 |
| 3. Not much encouragement, but no discouragement | 35 |
| 4. Some encouragement, allows some disagreement | 13 |
| 5. Tolerance of criticism, encouragement to express opinion | 2 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 2.59 |

Answers of some mothers:

Score 1

M 20: Sometimes there is a little disagreement between her and me. She finds faults with my language. I scold her if she talks too much. It is good to talk only a little.

Score 2

M 37: There is no disagreement between us about anything, but if there is, she need not talk about it.

Score 3

M 34: She knows my ideas and acts accordingly. There is no disagreement, but if she does not like something that I do, she tells me; for example, she tells me why I should not scold her.

M 78: No, she does not criticize me. There is no occasion for it.

Score 4

M 9: There is no difference of opinion between us, but sometimes she conveys to me her views about things. I do not mind it.

Score 5

M 49: We do not disagree over anything, but she talks to me frankly.

M 82: Yes, she tells me if she does not approve of something. There is no restriction to speak out her mind.

Choice of clothes, domestic work and methods of disciplining siblings were some of the areas in which girls expressed their opinion and mothers' dress and language were some of the points of criticism. Girls were usually not consulted in family affairs.

Table 20

Scale 17: Girls' Participation in Decision Making in Family Affairs

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. No participation | 47 |
| 2. Consulted on minor affairs and/or has some idea of financial position of the family | 32 |
| 3. Knows about financial position of the family, occasional consultation on financial matters or several other matters | 10 |

Table 20 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 4. Knows about financial matters, some consultation about several matters including financial matters | 7 |
| 5. Knows about almost all family matters and is consulted often | 4 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 1.89 |

The answers quoted from some interviews:

Score 1

M 46: We do not consult her on domestic affairs. She observes what does on around her and so knows about our income and expenses, but we do not consult her on these matters.

M 53: She is not consulted about anything. She does not know out income. She is too young for all this. This is parents' sphere of responsibilities.

Score 2

M 67: I consult her on minor things, such as going out or meals. She knows about income and expenditure, but is too young to be consulted on such matters.

Score 3

M 68: Sometimes I consult her about purchases to be made. She is intelligent, goes out and observes things and so I seek her opinion. She knows about our income and expenses,

but is not consulted on all these matters.

Score 4

M 14: Yes, I have to consult the girls about many things as I have no friends in the neighborhood. Girls know about our income and most of the purchases are made with their help.

M 23: Yes, I consult her about entertaining guests, giving presents, going out, etc. Sometimes she volunteers an opinion. She knows about our financial matters.

Score 5

M 21: No, I do not bother her about domestic problems. She will know all about them later on. But she volunteers her opinion. She is quite bold in this respect. She handles all the money.

M 102: Yes, I consult her when making purchases, giving presents or managing other domestic affairs. She knows all about our finances. It is the father's habit to hand over money to the girls. I don't know if he finds it embarrassing to give it to me.

Warm-cool. - Mother-daughter relationships were considered warm if daughters sought mothers' help in case of need, if there was a feeling of companionship between them, if mothers rewarded good

behavior of their daughters and appreciated them.

Mothers often did not know whether girls preferred to solve their own problems or whether they preferred to take anyone's help. Some mothers had not given a thought to the problem. Mothers, however, knew if the girls preferred to take their help or other peoples' help.

Table 21

Scale 9: The Extent to which Girls Seek Mothers' Help

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Never goes to mother | 20 |
| 2. Goes on rare occasions | 27 |
| 3. Sometimes, not frequently | 42 |
| 4. Often, if required | 10 |
| 5. Almost always | 1 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 2.45 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 1: No, she has no difficulties. In her home work she takes the help of a tutor. I am so busy, what help can she take from me!

M 4: She has no special difficulties. She likes to take others' help. Approaches her sister-in-law for any help she needs.

Score 2

M 104: She does not seem to have many difficulties. Does not talk to me about any. Even at home she does not speak much. Likes to do her own work. In case of difficulties she approaches me for help. She is somewhat afraid of father.

M 20: If she needs anything she asks others for help. She approaches me or her friends for help.

M 73: She likes to do her own things. Does not easily take others' help. This is a bad habit. But she consults me.

Score 4

M 12: She likes to work with some one and takes others' help. She approaches both of us (mother and father) for help.

Score 5

M 3: She has problems of health. Yes, she consults me in her difficulties. She cannot solve her problems. Mostly she comes to me. Sometimes she goes to her aunt.

Table 22

Scale 12: Enjoyment in Each Others' Company

| | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. None, mother not demonstrative | 17 |
| 2. Some, occasionally doing things together; moderate show of affection | 36 |
| 3. Spend some time together, some show of affection | 24 |

Table 22 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 4. Spend time together whenever possible; both warm | 15 |
| 5. A good deal of time spent together; both very warm | 8 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 2.61 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 20: Sometimes we do domestic work jointly. At times she tells me jokes and makes fun of me, but I get annoyed with her. I am not used to being affectionate. I love, but I do not talk of love. She may become proud if I do. I do not like to be very intimate with her. There must be some discipline.

Score 2

M 44: When we have any festivities we do the domestic work jointly, but this is not our daily practice. She tells me about all her school experiences, but does not make fun of me. I am neither very close to her nor do I scold her much.

Score 3

M 75: Sometimes we do the domestic work jointly, sometimes we are at it by ourselves. She tells me about all that

happens in her school. I talk to her affectionately.

Yes, I like to talk to children.

Score 4

M 58: Cooking and sewing is done jointly by us if she is through with her school work. When she returns from the school she relates to me all that happened at the school. I talk to her affectionately. We are like friends. I don't think this will spoil her.

Score 5

M 4: We do a lot of domestic work jointly. We go out together, we eat together. She tells me jokes and all that happens at the school. I talk to her affectionately. I don't think this will spoil her. We are together when she is at home.

Table 22 and specimen answers give an idea of the nature and extent of companionship between the mother and the child and the mother's attitude toward it. A majority of mothers liked the company of their children, did a number of things with them, understood them, approved of close relationship with children, but were undemonstrative. Just being together was enough as an indication of affection.

Table 23

Scale 20: Use of Rewards: Positive Methods of Discipline

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Practically no rewards | 20 |
| 2. Seldom given, does not consider them necessary | 33 |
| 3. Sometimes given, sometimes not | 36 |
| 4. Usually given | 10 |
| 5. Almost always given | 1 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 2.39 |

Extracts from mothers' answers:

Score 1

M 2: I don't give any rewards. That is not my practice.

I don't even praise her. I hold out examples of other good girls and tell her that she should be like them.

M 15: No. I don't praise her easily.

Score 2

M 6: No fuss is made about anything. Sometimes I praise her and that is all.

M 90: I am pleased with her, but praise her only sometimes.

M 96: I don't praise her. Sometimes I just express my approval of her actions.

Score 3

M 34: I don't give any material reward, but encourage her by appreciating her work.

M 43: I just show my pleasure at the good work done. I give her whatever she wants and sometimes praise her.

Score 4

M 64: Whenever she does any good work I praise her. I appreciate even her small actions.

M 79: Yes, we appreciate her work and even when she commits mistakes we praise her for her good intentions.

Score 5

M 13: I reward her with the things she wants. I praise her pretty often.

M 75: We praise her a lot. We are happy that she is doing well at school and makes our sacrifices worth while.

The topic of rewards was partly covered by question 3b, referring to methods of pressure for achievement. Mothers did not consider it important that good behavior should be rewarded, they took it for granted. Most of them believed that praise would make the girl think too much of herself. It was more common not to give any rewards.

A majority of the mothers appreciated the daughter, but were sparing in their praise.

Table 24

Scale 22: Appreciation of Daughters

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Excessive criticism and dislike of the girl | 1 |
| 2. Strong dislike, but finds some positive characteristics | 0 |
| 3. Some dislike, finds some positive characteristics and some points of criticism or in-different answers | 44 |
| 4. Appreciation of almost all that the girl is and does. No dislikes. | 47 |
| 5. Very great appreciation, finds a number of positive characteristics | 8 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.61 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 1

M 36: In infancy she was ill and used to cry a lot, may be that this has done her some harm. I don't like anything about her.

Score 3

M 5: She has not been a very difficult child, she obeys me.

There is nothing I particularly dislike about her.

M 77: As a child she was a little obstinate, but now she is quite docile. Everything about her is nice, nothing to dislike.

Score 4

M 2: There was no difficulty in bringing her up. I like her work and study habits.

M 26: As a child she was a little weak. Now she is very industrious, active and helpful. She never does anything without my permission. With her in the house I am never lonesome. Sometimes she quarrels with others.

Score 5

M 28: I had no difficulty in bringing her up. She is always happy and keeps the house atmosphere pleasant. She is very industrious. I like everything about her.

M 82: She keeps the house clean and tidy and remembers her work. Not only myself, but all like her, even in school. Everybody is fond of her.

Emotional climate of the family. - This variable refers to the atmosphere of the whole family. Considering that some of the families have joint living, many more persons than parents and their children contribute to the development of emotional climate. This is likely to influence mother-daughter relationships. It was, therefore, considered important to make a study of this variable.

Cordial relationships between siblings, other family members' help in bringing up children, agreement between parents on rules

and regulations to be followed and non-domination by one parent were considered to be indications of a healthy atmosphere.

The question, "How well does she get along with her brothers and sisters?" had no reference to the age of siblings, the aim being to find out the warmth of relationship. But mothers distinguished between girls' relationships with older and younger siblings and reported that they were affectionate to their younger brothers and sisters, deferential toward older brothers, and were companions to sisters not separated very much by age. Three mothers reported disharmony between the girl and her siblings. The mean score for warmth (Table 25), however, indicates fairly warm relationships.

Table 25

Scale 13: Warmth of Relationship With Siblings
(Note: N = 98. No siblings in two cases)

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. No warmth or interaction | 6 |
| 2. Moderate warmth; interaction on rare occasions | 13 |
| 3. Some warmth; some interaction and help | 40 |
| 4. Very warm; companionship and help | 31 |
| 5. Very warm; a good deal of interaction | 8 |
| Total | 98 |
| Mean Score | 3.22 |

Some specimen answers:**Score 1**

M 36: She quarrels with everyone, does not care for older or younger siblings, does not talk to anyone affectionately.

Score 2

M 58: She never speaks out, but I think she loves her brothers and sisters. She works for them, talks to them. Sometimes she also quarrels with them; says some unpleasant things to them.

Score 3

M 8: She loves her brothers and sisters, but does not have to work for them. She plays with them. Sometimes she quarrels with them too.

Score 4

M 50: Brothers and sisters love one another very much. She works for them, plays with them and sometimes quarrels with them. At times she just refuses to work for them.

Score 5

M 73: She loves her brothers and sisters very much. She works for them. When they are sick she is at their bed side in the night. She plays with them. They are younger than she is, so she does not quarrel with them. She considers herself their leader.

Table 26

Scale 15: Other Family Members' Help or Hindrance
(Number of families with influential other members = 54)

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. A good deal of hindrance | 0 |
| 2. Some hindrance occasionally | 1 |
| 3. Neither much help nor hindrance | 20 |
| 4. Some help | 12 |
| 5. A good deal of help | 21 |
| Total | 54 |
| Mean Score | 3.98 |

Some specimen answers:

Score 3

M 20: Uncle and aunt give us some advice. We approve of it.

Their advice is bound to be good. We follow their advice.

Score 4

M 6: My mother-in-law and sister-in-law help in feeding and taking care of children. They do whatever they can.

Score 5

M 69: My mother and older sister help me in everything. Sometimes mother pampers the girl. I explain to mother that this is not good for the girl.

In this sample only about twenty-five families could be considered joint families of more than one couple. In about twenty

families (Table 8) other members were generally single members, such as widowed or unmarried sisters, brothers, cousins, etc. All of them played some part in the lives of children. Sometimes help was received from relatives who did not live with the family. Parents welcomed help and many times let others have a final say in the matter of educating and disciplining children. No hindrance or conflict in ideas of bringing up children was reported. The role of all other members whether living with the family or not, was considered with reference to bringing up children.

Table 27

Scale 16: Children's Domination by One Parent

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Exclusively by one parent | 4 |
| 2. Mostly by one parent | 21 |
| 3. Mutual consultation, but final decision by one parent | 31 |
| 4. Generally mutual consultation and mutual decision, but not much interference in each other's spheres | 34 |
| 5. All decisions mutually arrived at and all the responsibilities mutually shared | 6 |
| 6. Other members of the family responsible for major decisions | 4 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.18 |

The following extracts from mothers' answers give some idea as to how rating on parent domination scale was done:

Score 1

- M 36: My husband does not do anything much for children. He does not bother himself about their going to school. I have to see to their admissions, etc. He does not seek my opinion about anything nor express his own.
- M 44: My husband interferes in everything, gets after children, scolds them quite often and gives advice on everything.

Score 2

- M 46: I take care of all the household work and look after children while they are at home. My husband takes care of the children's education and outdoor activities. He tells me what needs to be done under any situation.
- M 49: I shoulder all the household responsibilities. My husband does not pay much attention to anything except to girls' going out, in which case there is mutual consultation.

Score 3

- M 63: I take care of children's physical needs and my husband supervises their home work and keeps a watch over their progress in school; I consult him about everything and keep him informed about whatever I do.

Score 4

M 79: I take care of all the household responsibilities and act according to my husband's wishes with reference to the children's education. I tell him in which locality it is convenient to live. Financial matters are settled after mutual consultation.

M 82: I shoulder all the domestic responsibilities including children's education and see that my husband is not bothered about anything, but I consult him in all important matters like the children's education and expenditures.

Score 5

M 28: All the responsibilities are shared by both of us.

M 45: I look after domestic work. Father takes care of children's education. We consult each other about everything.

It was a little difficult to ascertain from mothers the authority pattern in the family. Women generally do not like to admit their domination in the home, they rather take pride in stating that their household is father-dominated, this being the more socially accepted pattern. In forty cases (Scores 4 and 5) both the parents seemed to exercise almost equal authority in bringing up children, while in twenty-five cases (Scores 1 and 2) there was domination by one parent. Father dominated in twenty-

one cases and mother in four cases.

Table 28

Scale 21: Agreement Between Parents About Ways of Bringing Up Girls

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. No agreement in ideas and in application | 1 |
| 2. In general no agreement, but occasional support | 4 |
| 3. No conflict in action though they may disagree in ideas | 16 |
| 4. On the whole enforce rules equally well and also agree in principle on most of the matters | 38 |
| 5. Both enforce rules equally well and also agree in all matters | 41 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 4.14 |

Answers of some mothers are given below. Reference to points of disagreement was generally brief.

Score 1

M 20: Father insists on his ideas being carried out. He never disciplines children. I have to do all the scolding.

Score 2

M 14: There is disagreement over certain ideas. Father wants the girl to be taught domestic work and married off soon. I insist on education as the girl is rather too young. I discipline her oftener.

Score 3

- M 26: No, there is not much difference of opinion. Only father does not want the girl to be asked to do much domestic work. He wants the girl to have more time for studies.
- M 64: We never contradict each other in the presence of children. If there is any disagreement we talk things over later on.

Score 4

- M 21: There is agreement over all the points. Only I scold her oftener than father.
- M 95: There is slight difference of opinion about the girl's education, that is all.

Score 5

- M 44: We agree on all points.

The answers to question 1c, referring to fathers' ideas about girls' education and question 16, referring to each parent's share of responsibilities were taken into consideration in rating this scale. On the whole, parents agreed in their ideas and actions in bringing up children. There was some disagreement over the question of education and discipline. Six mothers and three fathers wanted more education for their daughters than the other parent. Forty-nine mothers administered punishment oftener as against eight fathers, there being mutual agreement in the remaining cases. If the mother disciplined the girl oftener, it was partly because she was in the home most of the time and also

traditionally there is some reserve between father and daughter.

Table 29

Scale 1: Level of Academic Achievement Desired for Girls

| Education | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Less than High School | 2 |
| 2. High School | 23 |
| 3. Intermediate (Junior College) | 13 |
| 4. B. A. | 35 |
| 5. Higher than B. A. | 26 |
| Could not be ascertained | 1 |
| Total | 100 |
| Mean Score | 3.61 |

Most of the mothers were unwilling to make a definite statement about the level of academic achievement they expected the girls to reach and their replies were vague, generally indicating a range of expected academic achievement.

M 2: I wish she goes up for higher education.

M 17: Probably up to Intermediate, I have not given much thought to the question.

M 61: Whatever God wills and she can do. If supported by fate she will go up to B.A. or M.A.

For the purpose of rating, the lowest mentioned level was taken into consideration unless there were older sisters with higher education, in which case the highest degree mentioned

was considered.

Privacy (Question 18). - Originally, this scale was meant to be one of the sub-variables in studying democratic-authoritarian dimension of parent-child relationships. Mothers' being particular about knowing all the thoughts of their daughters, opening of girls' letters and the girls' having a room of their own were included as different items. However, interviews revealed that most of the families lived in small houses where separate rooms for different members were not available and girls rarely wrote letters or received them. Letters were addressed to the mother or the father and were generally shared by the whole family. Whenever a letter was addressed to the girl, in a majority of cases she opened it and read it out to others. In one third of the cases in which girls received letters, they were opened by older people, sometimes as a matter of discipline and sometimes because they knew who the writer was and that the letter would be shared by all in any case. Mothers did not think that girls felt the need for any more privacy than was available.

Under the circumstances it was agreed between Dr. Ghosh, the alternate rater, and the writer that the rating would be based on the extent of mother's permissiveness in allowing the girl to have privacy in her own thoughts and not being suspicious of her actions. Reference to letters was not completely omitted

from the rating scale because as many as forty-three girls received letters, and mother's attitude towards girls' letters could be a further guide in judging the scope for privacy. There was, however, very low correlation between the ratings by Dr. Ghosh and the writer probably because Dr. Ghosh still continued to be guided by reference to letters being opened and a separate room. The scale was therefore dropped from consideration.

Relationships Among Variables

Relationships among sub-variables were studied by finding out the difference between the highest and the lowest scores on scales listed under each main variable (Table 30). This difference was less than one in case of three groups of sub-variables and more than one in two groups. Mother's demand for obedience and girl's participation in decision making (variable 3) do not seem to indicate the same thing. Mothers may not demand immediate obedience from teen-age daughters because they think that daughters would have very good reasons for not complying with instructions immediately. They are thus not very authoritarian and yet not democratic enough to involve girls in decision making. Similarly, appreciation of a daughter (variable 4) does not necessarily lead a mother to use rewards for inducing change in behavior.

Table 30

Mean Scores on Scales Grouped Under Main Variables

| Variable Number | Scale | Score |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. | <u>Harmonious-conflictual</u> | |
| 2 | Acceptance of mother's academic goal | 3.90 |
| 5 | Girl's acceptance of restrictions | 4.54 |
| 7 | Girl's acceptance of responsibilities | 3.83 |
| 11 | Girl's aggression toward mother | 3.72 |
| | Total | 15.99 |
| | Range | .82 |
| 2. | <u>Coercive-permissive</u> | |
| 3 | Mother's pressure for achievement | 3.68 |
| 4 | Severity of restrictions imposed on girl | 3.87 |
| 6 | Pressure for responsibilities at home | 3.51 |
| 19 | Use of punishment: Frequency and severity | 3.83 |
| | Total | 14.89 |
| | Range | .32 |
| 3. | <u>Democratic-authoritarian</u> | |
| 8 | Mother's demand for obedience | 3.03 |
| 10 | Scope for independent action by girl | 2.42 |
| 14 | Mother's encouragement for expression of opinion | 2.59 |
| 17 | Girl's participation in decision-making | 1.89 |
| | Total | 9.93 |
| | Range | 1.14 |

Table 30 (Continued)

| Variable Number | Scale | Score |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 4. | <u>Warm-cool</u> | |
| 9 | The extent to which girl seeks mother's help | 2.45 |
| 12 | Enjoyment in each other's company | 2.61 |
| 20 | Use of rewards | 2.39 |
| 22 | Appreciation of girl | 3.61 |
| | Total | 11.06 |
| | Range | 1.22 |
| 5. | <u>Emotional climate of home</u> | |
| 13 | Warmth of relationship with siblings | 3.22 |
| 15 | Other family members' help | 3.98 |
| 16 | Child's domination by one parent | 3.18 |
| 21 | Agreement between parents | 4.14 |
| | Total | 14.52 |
| | Range | .96 |
| | <u>Other scale</u> | |
| 1 | Level of academic achievement desired for girl | 3.61 |

Intercorrelations between all the variables except one, (Table 31), were positive and more or less similar to those in other studies. Yarrow (1963) has pointed out that such correlations generally vary between .2 to .3. The highest correlation was between permissiveness and positive emotional

climate of the home. It may be that the general permissive attitude of mothers helps to keep the emotional climate of the home positive and free from tensions.

Table 31

Intercorrelations Among the Main Variables

| Variables | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|------------------------------|------|-----|-----|------|
| 1. Harmonious-conflictual | 0.30 | .28 | .33 | .16 |
| 2. Coercive-permissive | | .28 | .42 | .45 |
| 3. Democratic-authoritarian | | | .34 | .16 |
| 4. Warm-cool | | | | -.07 |
| 5. Emotional climate of home | | | | |

The next highest correlation was between permissiveness and warmth. One may hypothesize that a warm mother is closer to children, understands their needs better and so is more permissive.

The lowest positive correlations were (a) between the emotional climate of the home and harmony of mother-daughter relationships, and (b) emotional climate of the home and democratic behavior of mothers. The correlations are too low to be significant at the .05 level.

The only negative correlation, though too low to be significant, was between warmth of mother-daughter relationships and emotional climate of the home.

Relationships among variables were further studied with

reference to (a) number of children in the family (Table 32), (b) ordinal position of the child (Table 33), and (c) income of the family (Table 34). It would have been valuable to make a similar study with reference to education of mothers and working mothers, but the number of such mothers in this sample was too small to determine the relationships.

For studying the effect of number of children on mother-daughter relationships, mothers with three, five, seven and nine children were considered (Table 32).

Table 32

Mean Scores on Main Variables of Mother-Daughter Relationships and Emotional Climate of the Home With Reference to Number of Children in the Family

| Variables | Number of Children | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 3 | 5 | 7 | 9 |
| | N=12 Mean | N=15 Mean | N=13 Mean | N=10 Mean |
| 1. Harmonious-conflictual | 15.54 | 15.53 | 16.27 | 17.40 |
| 2. Coercive-permissive | 15.33 | 15.27 | 14.54 | 14.40 |
| 3. Democratic-authoritarian | 10.85 | 10.23 | 9.62 | 11.55 |
| 4. Warm-cool | 11.25 | 10.95 | 9.65 | 11.65 |
| 5. Emotional climate of home | 14.43 | 14.06 | 13.45 | 14.75 |

Mothers of first, third, and fifth child were selected for studying the effect of ordinal position of children on mother-daughter relationships omitting cases of the only child or the last child. It was not considered necessary to refer to emotional climate of the home since the data for that variable are presented in Table 32.

Table 33

Mean Scores on Main Variables of Mother-Daughter Relationships With Reference to Ordinal Position of Girls

| Variables | Ordinal Position | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | First N=27 | Third N=15 | Fifth N=10 |
| 1. Harmonious-conflictual | 15.47 | 16.63 | 16.45 |
| 2. Coercive-permissive | 15.52 | 14.03 | 15.20 |
| 3. Democratic-authoritarian | 10.04 | 9.23 | 10.50 |
| 4. Warm-cool | 11.44 | 11.00 | 10.10 |

To study the effect of income on mother-daughter relationships, only two groups were considered, viz., the group with the lowest income, i.e., with income below one hundred and fifty rupees per month and the topmost group with income of above six hundred and one rupees per month (Table 34).

Table 34

Mean Scores on Main Variables of Mother-Daughter Relationships and Emotional Climate of the Home With Reference to Income of the Family

| Variables | Income of the Family | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Below Rs.150 per month N=16 | Above Rs.601 per month N=19 |
| 1. Harmonious-conflictual | 16.80 | 15.90 |
| 2. Coercive-permissive | 14.20 | 15.50 |
| 3. Democratic-authoritarian | 10.50 | 10.39 |
| 4. Warm-cool | 11.50 | 11.39 |
| 5. Emotional climate of home | 14.31 | 14.47 |

Number of children in the family, ordinal position of the child, and the income of the family apparently do not have much influence on mother-daughter relationships.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS: ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

During the course of interviews, mothers talked about some of the problems of bringing up teen-age girls and the way these were handled. This information further helped in understanding mothers' relationships with their daughters. The number of mothers giving the information was sometimes very small. An attempt is therefore made to give a general idea of the problems and mothers' attitudes toward them.

Education (Questions 1, 2 and 3)

Mothers were interested in the education of their daughters, but were not in a position to plan for it in advance. Many factors (Table 35) governed the level of education they could expect for their daughters. Some mothers' wishes were also limited by their horizon which at times stretched only as far as the nearest school the girl was attending and consequently to the highest grade up to which the school offered education.

The question, "What would you like her to do after she is through school?" threw light on the motives for educating the girl (Table 35). Only four mothers stated that they were educating the girl so that she might be able to earn her livelihood in case of

necessity, but many more parents may have had this consideration in view.

Table 35

Factors Governing the Level of Education for Girls and
Parents' Motives for Educating Daughters

| | | Number of cases |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <hr/> | | |
| A. | <u>Factors</u> | |
| | Parents' education and social status | 38 |
| | Girls' wishes | 19 |
| | Prospects of girls' marriage | 12 |
| | Financial condition of parents | 9 |
| | Education for a desired career | 9 |
| | Girls' progress in school | 7 |
| | Need of girls' help in domestic work | 1 |
| | Not clearly stated by mothers | 5 |
| | <hr/> | |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |
| B. | <u>Motives</u> | |
| | Social and cultural needs | 83 |
| | Education for a career without precluding marriage | 9 |
| | Preparation for a career in case of need | 4 |
| | Career because of apprehended difficulties of getting the girl married | 3 |
| | Education for devotion to spiritual life | 1 |
| | <hr/> | |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |

A majority of parents made some decision about the minimum level of education the girl must attain before they could think of her marriage. After that the girl's education depended on the time

it took for parents to find a match for the girl, or on her would be parents-in-law's wishes after the engagement took place. All such cases are included under the heading, social and cultural needs.

The references to social and cultural needs were made in the following terms:

M 21: In our home all the members are educated.

M 26: Education is a necessity in our community.

M 74: Father thinks that these days one must avail oneself of all the educational opportunities one gets.

Answers to the question, "What does her father want her to do?" indicated that in a majority of cases there was mutual agreement about the girl's education although in six cases the mother was more keen to educate the girl and in three cases the father. Though the pressure for achievement was mild (Table 13), mothers expressed their feelings at girls' success or failure through rewards, punishments, and other modes of behavior (Table 36).

Table 36

Mother's Behavior in Case of Girls' Success or Failure
in Academic Fields

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Material rewards and verbal appreciation | 32 |
| Verbal appreciation only | 22 |
| Offerings to God | 8 |

Table 36 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Scolding in case of failure | 23 |
| Consoling the girl in case of failure | 20 |
| No failure so far | 29 |

Mothers, with the exception of a few, did not seem to be very much concerned about the non-academic activities of girls. Even when questioned about encouragement for extra-curricular activities of girls, they often reported about pressures or lack of it with reference to the school subjects studied. Some mothers, however, reported a number of activities engaged in by girls, but those were of the girls' choice. A few did not even know what the girls did in school except study.

Table 37

Some Indicators of Lack of Pressure for Achievement
In Non-Academic Fields

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Girl engages in various activities because she likes them, mother does not have to make any suggestions | 61 |
| Girl does not find time for other activities due to school work and hence mother brings no pressure on the girl | 11 |
| Mother asks the girl not to work too hard | 5 |
| Need of girl's help in domestic work and hence no extra-curricular activities | 4 |

Table 37 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Financial reasons for not engaging in extra-curricular activities | 4 |
| Parents do not like the girl to participate in activities conducted outside school | 2 |
| Mother does not take much interest in girl's extra-curricular activities | 13 |
| Total | 100 |

Restrictions (Questions 4 and 5)

Mothers do not find it necessary to impose many restrictions on girls. Only about one third of the mothers reported some restrictions in the home (Table 38). As many as seven mothers reported that girls drew their own schedule of work and imposed restrictions on themselves. This shows how earnest an adolescent girl can be. Hardly any girl was allowed to go out often or unescorted. As many as eleven mothers did not find it necessary to impose restrictions even on the girls going out (Table 38).

Table 38

Restrictions Imposed on Girls

| | Number of Cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Restrictions in the home</u> | |
| Girl expected to take care of her things and person | 12 |

Table 38 (Continued)

| | Number of Cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Not to be noisy or quarrel with siblings | 5 |
| Not to read fiction | 2 |
| Not to sing film songs | 1 |
| Not to talk too much with elders | 1 |
| Girl draws her own routine and lays down restrictions for herself | 7 |
| No particular restriction | 72 |
| Total | 100 |
| B. <u>Restriction outside the home</u> | |
| Not to go out alone or too frequently | 79 |
| Not to go alone very far from home | 8 |
| Not to go to pictures | 2 |
| Not many restrictions | 7 |
| Girl does not like to go out and hence no need for restrictions | 4 |
| Total | 100 |

Most mothers do not find it necessary to give reasons for any restrictions.

Even when we take into consideration all the restrictions imposed upon the girl, whether within the home or outside, it seems that mothers in general are not very strict disciplinarians.

Table 39

Giving Reasons for Restrictions

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Reasons are given | 14 |
| Girl does not go out, hence the question does not arise | 10 |
| Girl understands the reasons for restrictions and hence no need to state them explicitly | 8 |
| Very few restrictions and so no need to give reasons | 4 |
| No reasons are given: No discussion of the problem | 64 |
| Total | 100 |

Responsibilities (Questions 6 and 7)

Girls are required to lend a helping hand in domestic work.

The nature of these responsibilities is noted below:

Table 40

Nature of Girls' Responsibilities

| Responsibility | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cooking (either daily or in vacations) | 23 |
| Sweeping, dusting and tidying up the house | 19 |
| Looking after siblings (physical needs, home work, etc.) | 17 |
| Washing clothes | 11 |
| Making beds | 9 |
| Sewing | 5 |
| Preparation for daily worship | 4 |
| Other miscellaneous jobs such as looking after guests, running small errands, etc. | 75 |

Incidentally, some mothers gave reasons for pressure of work whenever pressure existed and also for lack of it wherever it did not exist (Table 41).

Table 41

Some Circumstances Governing Girls' Responsibilities

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Reasons for responsibilities</u> | |
| Large family | 6 |
| Mother ill | 1 |
| Girl has to be taught domestic work | 1 |
| B. <u>Reasons for not assigning responsibilities</u> | |
| Heavy school work | 17 |
| Presence of older women in the home | 3 |
| Presence of servants in the home | 2 |
| Girl old enough to understand her responsibilities | 2 |
| Girl will have plenty of work in future | 1 |
| Girl does not like to work | 1 |

Dependence (Question 9)

In order to find out to what extent girls sought mothers' help the mothers were asked what kind of difficulties or problems their daughters generally had. More than half the mothers (Table 42) reported that the girls had no problems. This appears to be partly due to interpreting the word "problem" to mean rather serious and grave problems, and partly due to the simple sheltered lives that

mothers and daughters lead in this part of the country. Girls' educational problems amounted to not doing well in school and not having anyone at home to help them with school work. This and other aspects of the question are summarized in the table below:

Table 42

Girls' Difficulties and Persons from Whom Girls Seek Help

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Girls' difficulties</u> | |
| Almost no difficulties | 69 |
| Educational | 12 |
| Financial | 10 |
| Health | 9 |
| Total | 100 |
| B. <u>Persons other than mother whose help is sought</u> | |
| Father | 26 |
| Siblings | 21 |
| Other women members of the family | 11 |
| Tutor | 9 |
| Uncle | 4 |
| Friends | 2 |
| Teacher | 1 |

Independence (Question 10)

The question, "In what matters do you allow the girl to make her own decisions?" had to be further elaborated by questions with reference to clothes, money, choice of school subjects, etc., to

make it meaningful to the mothers. They did not seem to make any conscious efforts to teach the girls to be independent and many reported that their daughters did not care for independence. As girls grew up they began to express their opinion on matters that concerned them, talked of their likes and dislikes about clothes and asked for the things they wanted. In some homes, money was given daily or occasionally for purchasing snacks or some other things in the school. Only in a few cases did the girls handle money without any restrictions by the parents. The girls generally had freedom to take any school subjects they liked. In many cases the parents' educational background was too meager for them to be of help to the girls in this respect. The mothers generally did not concern themselves about the girls' friends; they had faith in the girls' choice. The girls rarely went to one another's house and sometimes the mothers were not even aware who their daughters' friends were.

When asked whether they sheltered the girls and prevented them from committing mistakes, the answer was invariably in the affirmative, but the mothers felt that the question was unimportant. They could not think of any significant mistakes their daughters could commit.

Many mothers felt concerned about the future of their daughters, but a greater number felt that their daughters would

meet the exigencies of life without difficulty and that time would help them. Mother-daughter relationships with reference to dependence-independence is summarized in the table given below:

Table 4.3

Dependence-Independence

| | | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| A. <u>Nature of mother-daughter behavior in four areas</u> | | |
| 1. Choice of clothes: | | |
| a. Girl given the choice of clothes | | 39 |
| b. Clothes chosen by others | | 31 |
| c. Mutual consultation between girl and mother | | 30 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 2. Pocket money: | | |
| a. Girl given money when required | | 59 |
| b. Girl not given any money but given the things she needs | | 29 |
| c. Girl given some pocket money | | 12 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 3. Choice of school subjects: | | |
| a. Choice based on discussion between girl and other members of the family | | 48 |
| b. Girl makes her own choice with the help of teachers and friends | | 46 |
| c. Girl takes up subjects of parents' choice | | 6 |
| Total | | 100 |

Table 43 (Continued)

| | | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| <hr/> | | |
| 4. Choice of friends | | |
| a. Mother exercises very little influence | | 90 |
| b. Mother exercises some influence | | 10 |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |
| B. <u>Mothers' efforts at prevention of mistakes on the part of girls</u> | | |
| Mother takes no special care | | 10 |
| Mother takes some care | | 11 |
| Mother takes a good deal of care | | 8 |
| The question was considered unimportant | | 71 |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |
| C. <u>Mothers' concern about girls' future and education for the future</u> | | |
| Mother not very much concerned | | 39 |
| Some concern and education for future needs | | 37 |
| A good deal of concern | | 20 |
| Could not be ascertained | | 4 |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |

Aggression (Question 11)

The way the girls expressed their anger is significant. Twelve mothers reported crying as expression of anger, a sign of feeling of helplessness on the part of girls and an indication of the authoritarian attitude of mothers. These and other aspects of mother-

daughter relationships with reference to expression of anger are noted in Table 44.

Table 44

Nature of Mother-Daughter Interaction in Aggression

| | | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| <hr/> | | |
| A. <u>Girls' behavior when angry</u> | | |
| 1. Passive methods of expressing anger | | 71 |
| a. Quiet and withdrawn | 55 | |
| b. Cries | 12 | |
| c. Refuses food | 4 | |
| 2. Some violence | | 23 |
| a. Grumbles, talks angrily, answers back | 20 | |
| b. Mild violence to things | 2 | |
| c. Beats siblings | 1 | |
| 3. Tells reason for anger | | 6 |
| | Total | 100 |
| <hr/> | | |
| B. <u>Reasons for girls' getting angry with mothers</u> | | |
| Scolding by mother | | 5 |
| Assigning many responsibilities | | 2 |
| Hunger and/or food not to girl's taste | | 2 |
| <hr/> | | |

Companionship (Question 12)

Table 45

The Nature of Companionship and Communication Between Mothers
and Daughters

| | | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Things done together</u> | | |
| Domestic work | | 75 |
| Needle work, knitting, etc. | | 14 |
| Recreation | | 5 |
| Shopping | | 2 |
| Nothing much | | 22 |
| B. <u>The nature of Mother-daughter interaction</u> | | |
| 1. Communication | | |
| a. Sharing jokes, fun making: | Often | 25 |
| | Rare | 31 |
| b. Relating experiences: | Often | 33 |
| | Rare | 11 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 2. Understanding each other | | |
| a. Both understand each other | | 86 |
| b. Mother understands daughter, but daughter does not understand mother | | 8 |
| c. Sometimes there is understanding and sometimes there is not | | 2 |
| d. No understanding | | 2 |
| e. Has not given a thought to the question | | 2 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 3. Being irritable with the daughter | | |
| a. Daughter sometimes gets on mother's nerves | | 50 |

Table 45 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| b. Daughter rarely gets on mother's nerves | 47 |
| c. Not ascertained | 3 |
| Total | 100 |
| <u>C. Mothers' attitude towards parent-child interaction</u> | |
| Approve of a good deal of interaction | 61 |
| Do not approve of close interaction | 21 |
| Approve of some interaction but not much | 14 |
| Not ascertained | 4 |
| Total | 100 |

Verbalization (Question 14)

Mothers and daughters are together after school hours. They may share many experiences. Here an attempt was made to find out how far mothers encouraged verbalization.

Table 46

Mothers' Encouragement for Verbalization and Related Aspects of
Mother-Daughter Interaction

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <u>A. Telling the truth and punishment for mistakes</u> | |
| 1. No punishment on telling the truth | 72 |
| 2. Some punishment even on telling the truth | 28 |
| a. For the sake of education and discipline | 12 |
| b. Depending on the nature and seriousness of mistakes | 11 |

Table 46 (Continued)

| | | Number of cases | |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|--|
| c. Depending on mother's mood | | 5 | |
| | Total | 100 | |
| 3. Girl afraid of punishment and so hides mistakes | | 9 | |
| B. <u>Listening to girls problems</u> | | | |
| Mother listens to girl's problems | | 87 | |
| Girl does not talk about any problems | | 8 | |
| Girl does not have any problems | | 3 | |
| Some encouragement to talk about problems | | 1 | |
| Mother does not like to listen to problems | | 1 | |
| | Total | 100 | |
| C. <u>Consoling girl if she is unhappy</u> | | | |
| Mother consoles girl | | 68 | |
| Mother leaves girl alone | | 7 | |
| Sometimes consoles, sometimes not | | 4 | |
| Others console girl | | 2 | |
| Girl is rarely unhappy | | 16 | |
| Girl does not talk about her unhappiness | | 3 | |
| | Total | 100 | |

The mother who reported that she did not like to listen to the girl's problems was comparatively young and apparently dissatisfied with conditions of her life. With reference to questions about the girl's education, she remarked that if her own parents

had not died so early she also would have been properly educated and would have been better off.

The report of sixteen mothers that their daughters were never unhappy appears to mean that mothers thought in terms of somewhat deeper unhappiness.

Other members' help in bringing up children (Question 15)

Some mothers lived in joint families. Under the circumstances there was a possibility of conflicting points of view about some child rearing practices. An attempt was therefore made to find out how far mothers found other members a help or hindrance in bringing up their children.

Parental responsibility in bringing up children (Question 16)

The traditional pattern of division of responsibilities between parents is prevalent even today. The mother is concerned with matters within the house such as looking after the physical needs of children and disciplining them and the father with things that need to be done outside the home (Table 48). Mother domination appeared to be a result of circumstances and only in three cases did it appear to be a result of the mothers' personalities.

Table 47

Other Family Members' Role in Bringing up Children
(Number of families with influential other members: 54)

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Nature of help</u> | |
| All the help that is needed | 21 |
| Looking after children's physical needs | 11 |
| Educational guidance and advice | 5 |
| Miscellaneous type of help-concern for welfare | 17 |
| Total | 54 |
| B. <u>Agreement about child rearing practices between mother and others</u> | |
| No disagreement | 43 |
| Disagreement | 11 |
| a. Others consider mother to be too strict a disciplinarian | 5 |
| b. Miscellaneous reasons | 6 |
| Total | 54 |
| C. <u>Family members who take a final decision in case of disagreement</u> | |
| Mothers | 2 |
| Family members other than parents | 9 |
| The question generally does not arise | 43 |
| Total | 54 |
| D. <u>The family member girl loves most</u> | |
| All equally well | 46 |
| Preference for other members | 6 |
| Preference for parents | 2 |
| Total | 54 |

Table 48

The Nature of Division of Responsibilities Among Parents

| | | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| A. <u>Responsibilities</u> | | |
| 1. Mothers' responsibilities | | |
| a. Looking after the physical needs and minor educational and disciplinary problems | | 71 |
| b. Almost all the responsibilities | | 29 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 2. Fathers' responsibilities | | |
| a. Matters concerning money, education, illness, etc. | | 76 |
| b. General supervision of the home | | 9 |
| c. Mostly financial matters | | 7 |
| d. All major problems | | 8 |
| Total | | 100 |
| 3. Mutual responsibilities | | |
| a. Financial matters | | 5 |
| b. Education of children | | 7 |
| c. Almost all things | | 12 |
| Total | | 24 |
| B. <u>Reasons for mother domination</u> | | |
| Mother's people are more educated | | 1 |
| Mother has a more dominating personality | | 1 |
| Father does not care to assert | | 1 |
| Total | | 37 |

Decision-making in the family (Question 17)

Some mothers casually mentioned reasons why the girl was not consulted in family affairs though no attempt was made to elicit this information. Table 49 gives an idea of the nature of girls' participation in decision making in the family:

Table 49

The Nature of Girls' Participation in Decision Making

| | Number of cases |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Things about which the girl is consulted</u> | |
| Needlework, domestic work, etc. | 28 |
| Making purchases | 4 |
| Going to picture, trips, etc. | 4 |
| Giving presents to others | 2 |
| Entertaining guests | 1 |
| Marriage of siblings | 1 |
| B. <u>Reasons for not consulting the girl</u> | |
| The girl is too young, has older sisters | 9 |
| Mother does not like to burden the girl with domestic problems | 3 |
| Mother herself does not participate in decision making in the family | 3 |
| Girl is very innocent and mild mannered | 1 |
| C. <u>Reasons for consulting the girl</u> | |
| Girl volunteers opinion | 6 |
| She is the eldest child | 1 |
| Girl knows more about the outside world than mother | 1 |
| Mother is ill | 1 |

Discipline (Question 19)

The subject of discipline occupies an important place in literature on adolescence. Table 50 gives some of the methods of discipline adopted by mothers and the girls' reactions to them.

Table 50

Methods of Discipline Used by Mothers and Daughters'
Reactions to Them

| | Number of cases |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Methods of discipline</u> | |
| Praise | 69 |
| Holding out examples of good behavior | 49 |
| Scolding | 69 |
| Explaining the mistake with mild rebuke | 14 |
| B. <u>Girls' reaction to punishment</u> | |
| Remains silent | 28 |
| Does not mind being punished | 15 |
| Resents punishment | 11 |
| Feels unhappy | 7 |
| Cries | 6 |
| Thinks that mother is right | 3 |
| Obeys and corrects her mistake | 3 |
| Learns to avoid things not liked by parents | 2 |
| Is frightened | 2 |
| Answers back | 2 |
| C. <u>Smoothing things over after punishment</u> | |
| Mother does not smooth things over | 43 |

Table 50 (Continued)

| | | Number of cases |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| Sometimes smooths things over depending on the situation and fault | | 20 |
| Sister consoles girl | | 3 |
| D. <u>Reasons for punishment</u> | | |
| Mistakes in domestic work-neglect | | 34 |
| Quarreling with siblings | | 15 |
| Untidy habits | | 9 |
| Neglecting school work | | 8 |
| Ignoring instructions | | 4 |
| Going out | | 4 |
| Talking too much, being noisy | | 3 |
| Disturbing mother when she is with her friends | | 3 |
| Not doing things in time | | 2 |
| Food habits of girl | | 1 |
| E. <u>Mother's behavior when children quarrel</u> | | |
| 1. Scolds the children | | 42 |
| a. Scolds without much enquiry | | 37 |
| b. Scolds the one who is in the wrong | | 1 |
| c. Scolds the older child | | 4 |
| 2. Reasons with children | | 28 |
| a. Without much enquiry | | 16 |
| b. With the child who is in the wrong | | 7 |
| c. With the older child | | 3 |
| d. Pacifies them | | 2 |

Table 50 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 3. Expects children to settle things for themselves | 13 |
| a. Does not like to be bothered with their quarrels. Considers it proper that they should learn to settle their differences | 9 |
| b. Sends children off because she thinks that both the parties must be in the wrong | 4 |
| 4. Separates them | 9 |
| 5. Gives a mild beating, sometimes to one, sometimes to both | 4 |
| 6. Not ascertained | 2 |
| Total | 98 |

Appreciation of the girl (Question 22)

Questions referring to the difficulties faced by the mother in bringing up the girl and the things she liked and disliked about the girl elicited a variety of answers which are classified in Table 52 under different categories.

Table 51

Things Liked and Disliked by Mothers

| | Number of cases |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Nature of difficulties in bringing up daughters</u> | |
| Illness of girl | 18 |

Table 51 (Continued)

| | Number of cases |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Financial difficulties | 4 |
| B. <u>Behavior disliked in daughters</u> | |
| Irritability and temper | 7 |
| Obstinacy | 3 |
| Miscellaneous habits and traits | 15 |
| C. <u>Things liked about daughters</u> | |
| Industry and help in domestic work | 30 |
| Study habits | 19 |
| Simple-heartedness | 9 |
| Obedience | 9 |
| Conversation | 6 |
| Ways of behavior | 6 |
| Balanced temper | 6 |
| Skill in art | 6 |
| Miscellaneous traits, habits and skills | 35 |

Recent changes in the girl (Question 23)

Very few mothers reported having noticed any changes in girls. Girls seemed to pass from one stage of growth to the next smoothly and without much conflict with the parents. Whenever changes were reported, they were more of a positive nature than negative (Table 52).

Table 52

Recent Changes in Teenage Girls

| | Number of cases |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| A. <u>Positive changes</u> | |
| Development of understanding | 11 |
| More steady in domestic work | 9 |
| Becoming more quiet and grave | 9 |
| Studies harder | 8 |
| Learning good habits and useful skills | 4 |
| Development of other desirable character traits | 9 |
| B. <u>Negative changes</u> | |
| More irritable | 2 |
| Less interest in school work | 2 |
| Other negative changes | 3 |
| C. <u>Some other changes</u> | |
| More interested in appearance | 4 |
| Feels grown up and important | 1 |
| Wants to be independent | 1 |

Mothers' reaction to interview

Whatever the mothers' attitude in the beginning, at the end of the interview most of the mothers appeared relaxed. Seventy of them reported the experience to be a pleasant one, and it did not appear to be merely a polite remark. A few mothers seemed to be hungry for company and welcomed the diversion, some liked to talk about their children and one reported that she liked to talk about

ideas and think about problems that had not struck her before. She gave evidence of very great understanding and insight. Of all the mothers she was the only one who correctly concluded what problem was being studied.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Interpretation of Results

Scores on the main variables indicate that the mother-daughter relationships were harmonious, permissive, somewhat authoritarian, and cool, and homes were free from conflict.

Harmonious-Conflictual

Adolescent parent-child conflicts can have a past history of harshly rejected childhood, an over-valued child rejected later on, or an over-dominated child. Maybe these conditions were absent in the case of children referred to in this study. In India children are liked, and are looked upon as part of what God bestows upon parents. They are often brought up by parents with the assistance of other relatives. Probably this prevents rejection of children. A mother's shortcomings in relating herself to the child may be compensated for by others.

Since early training of children emphasizes obedience, respect for elders, and some reserve between parents and children, by the time a girl reaches the adolescent age she has accepted the family culture and authority pattern and has made it her own. This is easier because restrictions imposed upon the girl's move-

ments do not give her much opportunity to come in close contact with persons and groups outside the family circle and so the 'we-group' feeling is stronger with the family circle than with the non-family group.

One frequent cause of parent-child conflict is the projection of parental ambitions onto the children, but in the cases of majority of girls, parents' aspirations extended to seeing their daughters married into a family of their own or higher status. There was not much difference between what parents wanted for their daughters and the girls wanted for themselves and so there was not much ground for conflict.

Of the four areas in which existence of conflict was explored, there was least conflict in accepting restrictions, probably because restrictions were also few. The main restriction was on girls' movements and it is somewhat surprising that the girls did not mind it. Maybe they were so used to leading a quiet life at home and seeing their mothers confine themselves to homes that there was no demand for going out. This way of life is taken for granted both by the mother and the daughter. The only aspect that mothers had to consider was to create conditions where there would not be too much excitement in life and hence restrictions about reading fiction, singing film songs and going out too often or unescorted.

Girls gladly accepted many responsibilities at home. Perhaps absence of other interests and lack of opportunities for activities in other spheres made domestic work acceptable. It gave the girl some importance in the home. In the lower income group, she probably realized the need of her help.

Aggression against mothers did not find violent expression. Training for this must have started in early years. Quiet ways of expressing inner disturbances make a greater appeal to love.

Coercive-Permissive

Coerciveness and conflict are very closely related, the former being to a very great extent the cause of the latter. Some of the circumstances that explain comparative lack of conflict between the mother and the daughter also explain why the mothers were not very coercive. Restricted lives of mothers and consequent modest ambitions left no need for pressure for academic or other achievements. There could be imposition of the mother's will in other spheres or there could be rules and regulations governing the actions of the girl, but mothers probably found girls to be rather too old for anything but occasional mild rebuke by way of discipline. It was good, both for parents and for children, that mothers realized this and accepted it.

Mothers' permissiveness is in keeping with some trends in

modern thinking on child-rearing practices. This is not likely to be due to the tendency of mothers to speak with reservation and try to make a good impression, for they are unlikely to be aware of present psychological literature. Nor is it likely to be due to the development of response sets since most of the mothers did not grasp the central purpose of the study, but considered each question separately. The results seem to indicate the existence of a stable quality of relationships.

Pressure of work was heavy in about twenty cases (Table 15). Considering the low income of most of the families, rising prices, and lack of gadgets and machines to help the housewife, the need of an adolescent girl's help can very well be understood. Except in case of a few mothers this need not be taken as coercion.

Democratic-Authoritarian

The score on this variable was lowest, implying that mothers were not very democratic although they were permissive. They may cater to girls' wishes, but may not allow them to participate in organizing the life of the family on a basis of equality.

This attitude may be necessary under conditions of joint living. There was not much scope for independent action or expression of opinion by children. They could not be involved in decision making in family affairs. The attitudes that promoted harmony in family were stressed. Benevolent authoritarian be-

havior on the part of the head of the family was conducive to accord. The pattern of family life is changing, but old values continue to influence parent-child relationships.

Warm-Cool

The score for warmth was a little higher than the score for democratic behavior, but was lower than for other variables. Mothers appreciated their daughters. They reported a greater number of things they liked in their daughters than they disliked, but they were somewhat undemonstrative. In joint families, where a woman has to help in bringing up many children, she is expected to treat all the children in the same manner. Under these circumstances mothers may tend to be somewhat cool. Today's mothers probably carry over to their families the type of behavior that was once common.

Emotional Climate of the Family

The relationships among different members of the family were comparatively free from tensions. This may be the result of the authority pattern in the family, which in Garrison's (1946) terms was "father-led democratic," where the wife managed the home and the rearing of children to conform to joint policy and in line with husband's expectations. Under this pattern a mother could be an effective force in children's lives without conflicts in the family. Mothers generally did not assert their

authority when there were other older members in the family, and so harmony in relationships was maintained.

Mothers expressed their aims and aspirations for girls' education in somewhat vague terms. This can be understood considering the number of factors that governed the prospect of higher education for girls. Mothers may not want to appear too ambitious and many of them did not have very high ambitions of academic achievements for girls. Their aims for daughters' education were, however, higher than the educational level even of fathers (Table 6) and indicate the speed with which girls' education is expanding.

Sources of Difference

An attempt was made to discover variations in mother-daughter relationships in different income groups and for ordinal positions of daughters. No difference could be found. Previous studies of these variables refer mostly to early childhood training and their findings are contradictory. Stott (1940), who compared farm, small town, and city parents in their attitudes toward adolescent children could discover no difference. Families differ in size and in many other respects. It is difficult to isolate a variable of class or birth order and that may be the reason for negative findings in most of the studies. Sears and others (1957) have suggested comparison of parent-child relationships

of successive children as a better method of studying the influence of ordinal position.

Suggestions for Further Research

The field for research in this area is very wide. Even the present study needs to be repeated with samples from more modern cities than Banaras, rural areas, and different cultural groups in the country. Similar studies can be undertaken to elicit girls', boys' and fathers' point of view. The nature of parent-child relationships may be studied with reference to different stages of child development.

Various circumstances in the family are likely to affect parent-child relationships. A study of child-rearing practices of educated mothers and working mothers will have social value. The popular concept that educated or working women do not make good mothers and that absence of mother from home is more harmful to younger children than the older ones needs to be investigated.

Very low, but negative correlation between emotional climate of the home and warmth of parent-child relationships can be further explored. A deeper study of the emotional climate of the family and adolescent children's share in introducing harmony or disharmony in it is necessary.

Many educators supervising residential schools for children

feel that it is the difficult child who is more often sent to them than a normal one. In view of this, the relationship of parents to children residing in boarding houses is worth study.

Cultural changes will be more rapid in the future. They will bring about changes in inter-personal relationships. Development of technology and industrialization are generally followed by increase in delinquency and conflicts between teenagers and their parents. How this can be prevented is a problem for educators and social workers. Further research and more inter-culture studies in the field can be of help in understanding this problem.

Implications of the Findings for Education

General information about the sample gives the teacher an idea about the type of homes from which girls come and the aspirations of parents for their education. Most of the families are not very highly educated. Parents' ideas of education are rather limited to learning of subjects and the only accomplishments that they value are music and needle work. Parents are not in a position to help them in their school work.

This situation suggests that the schools must be a more effective and efficient social unit and should pay greater attention to the needs of the individual child. Since the emotional environment of children is fairly satisfactory, they are not

likely to need much psychological guidance, but most of the girls are in need of educational guidance. Girls' homes are conservative and slow to change. Mothers are unaware of a number of modern school activities and new ways of life. Schools can encourage girls to aspire for higher achievements and help them to reach their goals.

APPENDIX

RATING SCALES FOR THE MOTHER INTERVIEW

(Note: Refer to the Interview Schedule,
page for questions)

Scale 1: Level of academic achievement desired for girl (Question 1)

1. Less than high school
2. High school
3. Intermediate (junior college)
4. B. A.
5. Higher than B. A.

Scale 2: Acceptance of mother's academic goals (Question 2)

1. Complete rejection
2. Some rejection
3. Some mutual agreement on goals
4. Almost complete agreement or acceptance
5. Complete agreement and acceptance

Scale 3: Mother's pressure for achievement (Question 3)

1. Strong and constant pressure
2. Fairly regular pressure
3. Some pressure for girl to come up to expectations
(sufficiently realistic)
4. Very mild pressure. Possibility of some pressure
if achievement below expectation.
5. No pressure

Scale 4: Severity of restrictions imposed on girl inside and outside home (Question 4)

1. Strict rules in almost all areas
2. Strict rules in some areas and mild in others.
3. Moderate, some latitude is given. Very strict in some areas, very lenient in others
4. A few restrictions in major areas (going out alone)
5. No restrictions

Scale 5: Girl's acceptance of restrictions: Reaction (Question 5)

1. Extremely resistant, unwilling to accept restrictions
2. Occasionally tries to evade rules or a good deal of grumbling
3. Some dislike of restrictions, some grumbling, but no violation
4. Mild dislike of restrictions, on a few occasions grumbles about them, but does not evade rules
5. Accepts restrictions completely

Scale 6: Pressure for responsibilities at home (Question 6)

1. Many jobs to perform, high pressure
2. Many responsibilities, moderate or low pressure
3. Some demands
4. moderate demands, low or no pressure
5. No responsibilities

(Note: To pay more attention to the number of demands)

Scale 7: Girl's acceptance of responsibilities: Reaction, resistance (Question 7)

1. Dislike for work and almost blunt refusal

2. Dislike for work, but refusal is rare
3. Mild dislike for work, but a willing worker, or no expression of likes and dislikes
4. Likes work, but occasional refusal on legitimate grounds such as lack of time, indisposition, etc.
5. Likes work and is ready for it even if work is heavy

Scale 8: Mother's demand for obedience (Question 8)

1. Expects immediate obedience and sees that she gets it
2. Generally expects obedience, but takes into consideration the reasonableness of girl's attitude
3. Moderate demand for obedience. Tolerates delay on some occasions and not on others
4. Expects some obedience, but not immediate. Tolerates non-compliance
5. The problem of obedience does not arise, the girl obeys out of love and respect

Scale 9: The extent to which girl seeks mother's help (Questions 9 and 14 c, d)

1. Never goes to mother
2. Goes on rare occasions
3. Sometimes, not frequently
4. Often, if required
5. Almost always seeks mother's help, advice, and support

Scale 10: Scope for independent action by girl (Question 10)

1. Very little scope for independent action. All decisions taken by parents or others
2. Moderate scope for independent action in minor things such as choice of clothes, etc.
3. Some scope for independent action. Girl consulted in matters that concern her and generally allowed to take decisions
4. A good deal of scope for independent action. Help and advice whenever help is sought, but no interference in girl's actions
5. Full scope for independent action. Girl can act without parents' help or advice.

Scale 11: Girl's aggression toward mother (Question 11)

1. Very often
2. Several times
3. Sometimes
4. Rare
5. Almost never

Scale 12: Enjoyment in each others company: Companionship (Question 12)

1. None, no interaction, mother not demonstrative
2. Some, occasionally doing things together, moderate show of affection
3. Spend time together, some show of affection
4. Spend time together whenever possible, both warm
5. A good deal of time spent together, a good deal of interaction, both very warm

Scale 13: Warmth of relationship with siblings (Question 13)

1. No warmth or interaction
2. Moderate warmth, interaction on rare occasions
3. Some warmth, some interaction, sometimes helps and works for them
4. Very warm, spend time together and girl works for them, companionship
5. Very warm, a good deal of interaction

Scale 14: Mother's encouragement for verbalization: Expression of opinion and tolerance of criticism (Question 14)

1. Positive discouragement
2. Some discouragement
3. Not much encouragement, but no discouragement
4. Some encouragement, allows some disagreement
5. Tolerance of criticism and encouragement to express opinion

Scale 15: Other family members' help or hindrance in bringing up children (Question 15)

1. A good deal of hindrance
2. Some hindrance occasionally
3. Neither much help nor hindrance
4. Some help
5. A good deal of help

Scale 16: Child's domination by one parent (Question 16)

1. Exclusively by one parent
2. Mostly by one parent

3. Mutual consultation, but final decision by one parent
4. Generally mutual consultation and mutual decision, but some division of work and not much interference in each others' sphere
5. All decisions mutually arrived at and all responsibilities mutually shared.

Scale 17: Girl's participation in decision making in family affairs (Question 17)

1. No participation
2. Consulted on minor affairs such as trips, etc., and has some idea of the financial position of the family
3. Knows about financial position of the family, occasional consultation on financial matters or several other matters
4. Knows about financial matters, some consultation about several matters including financial matters
5. Knows almost about all family matters and is consulted often

Scale 18: Scope for privacy (Question 18)

1. Absolutely no privacy, mother vigilant
2. Rare, mother expects the girl to tell everything
3. Some privacy. Mother is not suspicious, has faith in the girl
4. A good deal of privacy; letters not opened
5. All the privacy that the girl desires (separate room, letters not opened). Mother does not expect the girl to tell everything

(Note: Importance to be given to mother's permissiveness in allowing the girl to have her own thoughts)

Scale 19: Use of punishment: Frequency and severity (Question 19)

1. Punished very frequently or very severely
2. Punished frequently or severely
3. Punished sometimes or with some severity
4. Rare, mild rebuke
5. None

Scale 20: Use of rewards: Positive methods of discipline (Question 20)

1. Practically no rewards, takes good behavior for granted or thinks praise will be harmful
2. Seldom given, does not consider them necessary
3. Sometimes given, sometimes not
4. Usually given
5. Almost always given

Scale 21: Agreement between parents about ways of bringing up girl:

Rules, restrictions, responsibilities, discipline, education, etc. (Questions 1 e, 16, and 21)

1. No agreement in ideas and in application
2. In general no agreement, but occasional support
3. No conflict in action, though they may disagree in ideas. Agreement in some spheres and not in others
4. On the whole, enforce rules equally well and also agree in principle on most matters.
5. Both enforce rules equally well and also agree in all matters.

Scale 22: Appreciation of girl (Questions 1 and 22)

1. Excessive criticism and dislike of girl. Found her a difficult child

2. Strong dislike, but finds some positive characteristics in girl
3. Some dislike, finds some positive characteristics and some points for criticism or indifferent answers
4. Appreciation of almost all that girl is and does
5. Very great appreciation. Finds a number of positive characteristics

Reaction To Interview

1. Disliked
2. Indifferent
3. Liked

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Kamala Bokil, a native of India, completed her high school education at Indore, Madhya Pradesh, in 1930. Her undergraduate work was done at the Banaras Hindu University. She was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1935 and the degree of Bachelor of Teaching in 1937. She received the degree of Master of Arts in psychology at the University of Calcutta in 1943.

For about nine years she taught in high schools of North and Central India. Since January 1948 she was working as a lecturer in the Teachers' Training College, Banaras Hindu University. In 1962 she was appointed as a reader in education in the same institution.

She joined the College of Education, University of Florida, Gainesville, in September 1959, and received the degree of Specialist in Education in January 1961.

For the last few months she has been working as educational supervisor of Lee County Head Start Program in Auburn, Alabama.

She is a member of Kappa Delta Pi.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

December 17, 1966

M. Willis C. Mc Baker
Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School

Supervisory Committee:

J. J. Gordon
Chairman

Robert L. Curran

R. J. Anderson